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All communications and MSS. should be addressed to the Editor, THE NATION AND THE ATHENÆUM, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.2.

## EVENTS OF THE WEEK

**B**Y deciding to move amendments to the Irish Bill, the Conservative Party have taken a course which is discreditable to themselves, and which, as it entails the probability that such amendments will be carried in the Lords, may, we fear, involve Britain in their discredit. Those Conservatives, like Lord Hugh Cecil, who voted for such amendments in 1922, can, of course, justify their present action; but those who voted against them then, and even argued against them, have an account with their consciences, which we should not care to have to settle. It is perhaps the highest tribute that could be paid to Mr. Baldwin's character that he could argue his case last Tuesday without raising a suspicion that he was dishonest or even disingenuous. By the strict letter of the Treaty, he declared, the Boundary Commission could not function without Ulster's consent. This, he admitted, was not the spirit of the Treaty, but if we once departed from the letter in order to give effect to the spirit, we must give effect to the whole spirit, and not merely to a part of it. The whole spirit required that the Boundary Commission should be confined to minor rectification. That was Mr. Baldwin's case; but it will not bear a moment's examination. That the spirit of the Treaty requires that the Commission should function independently of Ulster's consent is common ground to both parties to the Treaty. That it implies minor rectification only is *not* common ground. It is vehemently challenged by the Free State, and, even if all Englishmen accepted it, we should have no right to use a purely technical defect of the letter on the former point, to enforce our own interpretation of the spirit of the latter. In fact, the Conservative view that only minor rectification was intended is not accepted by most reasonable Englishmen; in our judgment, it is not even a plausible view; and it is just because it is felt not to be plausible that it is sought to fetter the discretion of Mr. Justice Feetham and his colleagues.

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The decision of the Liberal Party to oppose the Russian Treaties is exactly what we have always predicted. It reflects, we are convinced, an overwhelming

preponderance of Liberal opinion, which has been most regrettably obscured by the attitude of the Liberal Press. Those who have pleaded for "accommodation" have shirked the plain fact that the guaranteed loan clause of the Treaty raises a big issue of principle, upon which men of conviction cannot compromise. Unless the Government accepts the defeat of the Treaty, or prefers resignation to dissolution, an early General Election is now inevitable. We hope, however, that the fray will be postponed until the Irish Bill is on the Statute Book, and that no party will seek to precipitate a dissolution over the comparatively minor affair of the Campbell case. It might well prove fatal to the cause of Irish peace if we were to be plunged into a General Election, with the Boundary Commission left in suspense. Mr. Baldwin's suggestion that the misdeeds of Sir Patrick Hastings should be left over until October 28th showed that he is anxious to avert such a contingency (a not very logical anxiety in view of his ostensible attitude towards the Irish Bill). But Ministers may calculate that they will stand a better chance at the polls, if the Russian issue is pushed into the background; and if they make the Attorney-General's conduct an issue of confidence, it will not be easy for the Opposition parties to avert a smash next week.

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Certainly, the Attorney-General's explanation in the House last Tuesday cannot be regarded as satisfactory. He disclosed only one new fact of importance, that Campbell was not the permanent editor of the "Workers' Weekly," but was temporarily taking the place of the editor, who was away ill. This circumstance and all the other circumstances indulgently pleaded on behalf of Campbell by Sir Patrick Hastings might well have been regarded as extenuating his fault if he had been convicted; but journalists, at any rate, would be surprised to learn that this in any way lessened his responsibility before the law for what appeared in the paper while he was editing it. Sir Patrick Hastings states that no one attempted to influence his decision, and that it was not until "a speech by Sir John Simon was sent to him

a few days ago" that he knew that counsel for the prosecution, when withdrawing the case, had said that representations had been made after it was launched as to the character and meaning of the article. In view of all the discussion this case has provoked, it is extraordinarily difficult to understand how Sir Patrick Hastings contrived to remain so long in ignorance of so important a point in the controversy. Moreover, we can only believe him at the expense of doubting his attention to his duty, for as the Law Officer responsible both for the launching and the withdrawal of a case of such importance it was his obvious duty not only to find out but to supervise all that was said and done on behalf of the Crown. We can accept, however, Mr. MacDonald's statement that he was not consulted with regard to either the institution or the withdrawal of the proceedings. As Lord Birkenhead points out in Thursday's "Times," the constitutional position of the Attorney-General forbids him to accept "the intrusion of political colleagues" in his legal domain. For this reason any censure should properly be directed against the Attorney-General, and not, as the Conservative motion directs it, against the Government.

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No previous Prime Minister can have succeeded in packing so many bad and disingenuous arguments into a single speech as Mr. MacDonald contrived to do at Derby. Referring to Bolshevik propaganda, he declared that his predecessors "never did a thing to stop it," and read out Article 16 of the General Treaty with a triumphant "You have never had that before." Did he forget the very similar, if perhaps less explicit, clause in the Trade Agreement, or did he merely forget, like so many of his colleagues, that Ministers' speeches are reported? He argued that statements which would have been "serious" if made "by men of real political authority" were unimportant when they emanated from "a Mr. Rykoff," who happens to be the successor of Lenin, so far as anyone is his successor. "They say," was another of Mr. MacDonald's points, "we are going to give them a loan. We are going to do nothing of the kind, and they know it. All we are going to do is to guarantee a loan, which is a little bit different." If ever there was a distinction without a difference, this is one. Then we have the concluding bluster:

"We shall take no words from the House of Commons or party leaders like 'I am in favour of trade with Russia and peace with Russia, but I am not going to accept these treaties.' They will be opposed, if not in words, in deeds, to a settlement with Russia and to a continuance of trade with Russia."

Was Mr. MacDonald opposed to "a continuance of trade with Russia" when he repudiated the idea of a guaranteed loan as late as last June; and is it for a protagonist of the Union of Democratic Control to refuse to "take words from the House of Commons" as to the principles on which treaties should be based?

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"The Treaties," declared Mr. MacDonald, "will bring work to the cupboards of our poor people." This evidently is to be the argument on which Labour intends to rely in the constituencies; and, to drive the point home, the Independent Labour Party circulates a letter from the Soviet Embassy, enclosing a list of the requirements which the loan would be used to meet. Possibly the list may be more effective in driving home another point. We have as one of the main headings "Orders to Electrical Engineering Works," which comprises the following items: "(1) Electrification of certain metal-working works; (2) Electrification of certain collieries; (3) Electrification of the Suram section of the

Transcaucasian Railway." There are works and collieries and railways in Great Britain which might be electrified with advantage; and 100 per cent., not 60 per cent., of the money spent in electrifying them would be spent in this country. Why should these things be left undone while our savings are used to electrify the Suram section of the Transcaucasian Railway? Because even the present Government applies ordinary financial tests to projects of home development, and asks: "Will the financial return yield an adequate rate of interest on the capital outlay?" When it is a question of a foreign loan, on the other hand, Mr. Wheatley assures us that "it would be a good thing even if it were never repaid." In other words, foreign investment at 0 per cent. is held to be justified on the score of unemployment, while British development must show a probable return of 5 per cent. at least before it can be undertaken. That seems to be the new Labour economics.

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There is often a curious connection between the military and political news which comes from Italy. About a fortnight ago, the British papers announced that the Italian Government was on the point of annexing the Dodecanese. Soon after, the French papers spoke of fortifications which were contemplated, if not begun, in the island of Castelorizzo. News has now come through of an elaborate series of naval manoeuvres carried out mainly in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean by the Italian navy. Their ostensible object was to test how far an armed convoy moving through the Aegean from the Black Sea could defend itself against attacks by light forces of cruisers and submarines. It was stated by the Italian staff that the supposed enemy had his bases in the west of the Mediterranean. If this was really so, the manoeuvres were very artificially conceived: what seems more likely is that the Italian naval forces were testing the power of the Greek navy to disturb maritime communications between the Black Sea and the Straits of Messina. Some measure of Italy's interest in the Aegean may be taken from the elaborate inspection which the Italian navy is making of the islands in the eastern basin. About a month ago, rather before the reports of impending annexation, a notice to mariners from Genoa showed that an Italian torpedo boat had visited every anchorage in the Dodecanese and reported to headquarters on the naval possibilities of each. A further notice now proves that the torpedo boat "Granatiere" has been ordered to undertake similar work in Rhodes. Can it be that Italy is merely waiting until the Assembly is over before embarking on a new "Corfu"?

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While the atmosphere at Geneva has been healthy and inspiring, we confess to misgivings as to some of the work that has been accomplished there. We deprecated a fortnight ago the loose talk in the Press of compulsory arbitration for all disputes. It is now evident that the authors of the draft protocol are themselves responsible for the currency of this muddle-headed slogan. Unfortunately, it is not a mere matter of terminology. The draft protocol seems to us to rest upon a dangerous blurring of the vital distinction between the ideas of arbitration and conciliation. Only justiciable disputes, i.e., those which turn upon the interpretation of a document, or the application of an admitted rule of law, are appropriate subjects for arbitration—whether by a judicial body or by anyone else. For non-justiciable disputes, the proper method is that of conciliation, i.e., the attempt to find a reasonable solution which both parties to the dispute agree to accept. That was how the Cove-

nant left the matter. But, if we understand the draft protocol aright, it proposes that if this process of conciliation fails, arbitrators are to be appointed whose decision shall be final. If this obligation to submit to ultimate arbitration is taken seriously, it must inevitably cast its influence forward on to the conciliation stage; and the question arises and must be faced: "Where *ex hypothesi* there are no clear, generally accepted principles for determining the issue, what sort of considerations are likely to guide the arbitrators, whose decisions, if they are to command respect, must not be purely arbitrary?"

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Here we must reckon seriously with the much-discussed danger of stereotyping unduly the *status quo*. That is an argument which has often been employed in opposition to the whole League idea. But because an argument has been misapplied, we must not assume that there are no circumstances to which it does apply. Arbitration on justiciable disputes is not open to this objection, because in such cases both parties take their stand on the *status quo*. Conciliators need pay no more attention to the *status quo* than they think necessary. But when men are set up as arbitrators to pronounce with authority on matters which involve the weighing of imponderables, it seems to us inevitable that they will tend to exalt the dead hand above the living need. The danger of such a tendency is that it is not likely in the long run to make for peace. This fundamental difficulty lay behind the point raised, with admirable frankness, by the Japanese. "If," they said in effect, "we agree to this protocol and leave it to the International Court to decide whether a question is one of 'domestic jurisdiction,' we may find ourselves debarred from raising the question of immigration in any way at all." In a nutshell, the compulsory settlement of all disputes may mean that reasonable compromises are more difficult to reach.

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The German Government has instructed its diplomats in the countries represented on the Council of the League to make certain inquiries as to what would be implied by Germany's entry into the League. The exact character of these inquiries has not been revealed, but it is said that the main obstacle to a German application for admission is the fear that she would be required to permit the transit of French troops across her territory in the event of a Russian attack upon Poland. In our opinion it would have shown better judgment to address these inquiries to Geneva and to have made them public, but the point raised is one of substance which should not be brushed aside merely because it is embarrassing. One of the penalties of disarming a single State in the midst of an armed world is that the State so treated is unable to take its share of international obligations, and if the new France is sincerely anxious to have Germany in the League she might reasonably agree to send aid to Poland, if it is required, by the other routes with which she is familiar.

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The position in Iraq—to which attention was first called by Lord Parmoor at Geneva—needs a little explanation. To the north of Mosul, the Iraq boundary is in dispute; the Baghdad Government claims that it should run across the mountains of what is known as the Hakkari district; and the Government at Angora claims that it should be pushed further south. The British Air Force, assisted by troops known as Assyrian levies, are at present covering Amadia in the west of the disputed zone, and Rowanduz on the east. A force of

regulars is stationed at Baghdad; and reinforcements are brought up by aeroplanes when the situation demands it. About three weeks ago a Turkish official entered the Hakkari district, to the north of the British zone, and was seized by the Assyrian tribesmen and sent to Amadia. After that the Turks sent a regular column into the British area, where it was met and repulsed by the Air Force and the levies. As the matter stands, it is little more than a frontier incident with many possibilities; for the Turks, though hardly in a position to concentrate sufficient forces to overrun the Mosul area, have undoubtedly occupied a zone upon which the League has been invited to arbitrate. It is also disquieting that the whole of the districts where the mountains run down to the Tigris plain are full of unrest. It is reassuring, however, that Turkey has accepted the jurisdiction of the Council of the League in the matter.

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The news of an attack upon the Hedjaz by the Wahabis from the Nejd is still very vague. It is a good sign that the raiding tribesmen have not got into Mecca; for Arab warfare soon dissipates itself if the attacking party are checked in the desert. The Wahabis, who have thus forced themselves to the front, were, until recently, the most warlike and fanatical group of tribesmen in Arabia. Practically nothing was known of them until the middle of last century, when the Jesuit Palgrave penetrated into the Nejd. He described a fairly well-established ruling family, which, at one time, had carried the tribesmen victoriously to the Persian Gulf, and had established a temporary overlordship in the lower Euphrates. The Wahabis of his day were to the last degree fanatical; their theologians regarded smoking as a greater wickedness than parricide. When Doughty visited the country, some twenty years later, the Wahabi power was obviously on the wane. They appear now to have recovered some of their old spirit; but it is most improbable that they will seriously disturb the political equilibrium of the Hedjaz.

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In an introduction to a Labour Party pamphlet on "Labour and Industrial Peace," Mr. Shaw, the Minister of Labour, gives expression to an important opinion, and makes an equally important statement of policy. He remarks that "arbitration is becoming more and more a practical method of settling disputes," and that the probabilities are that it "will make more rapid strides in the immediate future"; and he announces that he has determined "to use the powers of the Ministry in setting up courts of inquiry in all cases where a dispute seems likely to inconvenience the public." Mr. Shaw states that public opinion exercises a tremendous force over the course of industrial disputes, and that it ought to be well-informed as to the facts; and we are glad to note that he recognizes the suffering inflicted on the public by strikes which interrupt essential services or hold up necessary supplies. The invariable setting up of courts of inquiry in such cases may prevent the parties from making a serious attempt to negotiate a settlement until the court has reported; but the public will gain on balance, provided that the inquiry is held at an early enough stage. Both employers and employed can reasonably be expected, if the appointment of the court is not delayed till the last moment, not to precipitate a stoppage until its findings are available.

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*Next week's issue of THE NATION will include a special Supplement of new and forthcoming books selected from the publishers' autumn announcements.*

## THE TWO ISSUES.

## I.

**P**ARLIAMENT has reassembled this week for the special business of passing the Irish Bill to establish the Boundary Commission. This is not a task which ought to occupy it long; for the Bill is required to vindicate the honour of both Houses of Parliament, of all parties and not least the Conservative Party, and of the British people. Unfortunately, however, we must reckon with the probability that the House of Lords will be ill-advised enough to insert an amendment requiring that the Commission should confine itself to what is termed "minor rectification." No one expects that the Lords will insist on such an amendment; on the contrary it is of the essence of the plan that, when the Commons refuse to agree, as they presumably will, the Lords will then give way. They are to pass their amendment in the first instance merely as a "gesture" expressive of the feeling that Ulster has been badly treated. Consciences may well be uneasy on the score of Ulster, but to save them by so frivolous and so reckless a procedure as that indicated would, we say plainly, be conduct the reverse of honourable. The House of Lords has no right to indulge in "gestures" of this kind; neither has the Conservative Party. If Ulster has been betrayed, the Lords and the Conservative Party were both parties to the betrayal. They ratified the Irish Treaty, they passed the Act in which the Treaty was embodied, and they did these things with their eyes fully open to all the circumstances which are now alleged to justify a change of attitude—to all the so-called "pledges to Ulster," and to all the so-called "ambiguities" of Article 12.

The theory that Parliament accepted the Irish Treaty under an innocent misapprehension as to the construction which the Free State would place upon the boundary clause, cannot survive an hour's perusal of the debates which took place in both Houses two and a half years ago. Mr. Michael Collins had already advanced his territorial claims in their most extreme form, and every speaker had them clearly in his mind. The Ulster spokesmen denounced the Treaty with a bitter vehemence, enumerating the assurances given to Ulster members during the passage of the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, and to Sir James Craig during the negotiations of 1921. Nay more, "minor rectification" amendments, such as are now suggested, were then moved, were debated at length, were resisted by the Government of the day, and were decisively rejected by the House of Lords no less than by the House of Commons. On March 22nd, 1922, Lord Londonderry moved in the House of Lords to insert the following proviso in the Irish Free State Agreement Bill:—

"Provided that if an Address is presented to His Majesty under Article 12 of the said Agreement, there shall be written terms of reference to the Commission for determining the boundaries of Northern Ireland, which shall be submitted for approval to both Houses of Parliament."

This amendment was opposed on behalf of the Government by Lord Peel, who declared that "the contention of the Government is that the terms of reference are already set out in the Treaty," and by Lord Birkenhead, who maintained that "whether you call it a treaty, or whether you call it a contract, it is made between two different parties of spokesmen, and neither of those parties has the right or title to construe it with authority." The amendment was rejected by 110 votes to 65. Having rejected this amendment then, when it might not have been too late to pass it without dishonour,

what conceivable justification can be advanced for adopting it to-day, when our honour is deeply committed?

Another feature of these old debates is worth attention. The Northern Government had already declared that they would refuse to nominate a Commissioner, and Ministers were pressed to say what would happen if they adhered to this decision. Lord Birkenhead replied evasively; he professed to believe that Ulster would nominate her Commissioner when it came to the point. But neither he nor any other peer gave any countenance to the sophistical doctrine, which is now advanced in some quarters, that the boundary clause was in effect a voluntary clause, which Ulster was free to veto if she chose.

We repeat that by ratifying the Treaty, and passing the Irish Free State Agreement Act, the House of Lords committed itself with its eyes open. Its responsibility is far more deep and definite than that of the present British Government; and it has no right to shuffle off this responsibility on to other shoulders. It cannot do so without seriously prejudicing the atmosphere in which the Commission must work and in which its findings must be received. It cannot do so without covering itself with dishonour, and leaving no small part of that dishonour to adhere to the British name. We hope that better counsels will prevail.

## II.

After passing the Irish Bill, Parliament is to adjourn once more until October 28th. But the Liberal Party has wisely taken the opportunity provided by the regathering of members to declare its uncompromising opposition to the Russian Treaties. It was important to announce this decision without delay; for the shuffling attitude of the greater part of the Liberal Press was doing, quite unwarrantably, serious damage to the repute of Liberalism. The eagerness with which so many Liberal papers seized upon an obscure passage in the Prime Minister's speech at Derby, to suggest that Liberal criticisms had been "met," was pitiable. What did Mr. MacDonald say?

"We are asking from the House of Commons, when the autumn session begins, no blank cheque. We are to lay it down in black and white, and get the signatures of the Russian representatives to it, that the loan shall be limited to an amount that the British House of Commons says, that it can only be spent in ways that the British House of Commons will accept, that it must be guaranteed by securities that the British House of Commons will regard as good securities."

We knew all this before. It is laid down in the General Treaty that the amount, terms, and conditions of the loan are to be defined in the later treaty which is to embody the settlement of claims; and this treaty will, of course, require the sanction of Parliament. It is far from clear that Mr. MacDonald meant to do more than to assert this fact; and, if he did intend something more, if he proposes to get another document signed by the Soviet delegates, confirming what is already laid down in the General Treaty, what difference can this make? Mr. MacDonald referred tauntingly in his speech to the Poplar episode. "In order to get themselves out of the mare's nest they asked us to give guarantees we had given them three weeks before. Of course we gave them, and of course that satisfied them." The same process, he added, would probably be repeated over the Russian Treaty; and it is presumably in this spirit that he contemplates, if this is really his intention, obtaining a redundant declaration from the Soviet delegates. We are sure that there are no Liberal members so abject

as to justify Mr. MacDonald's taunt by accepting as adequate such farcical assurances.

Yet the "Westminster Gazette" asserts that "this statement makes a very great difference to the position. It seems to make it unnecessary for any member of the House of Commons to reject the Treaty altogether, simply because he objects to the clause relating to the loan, unless he is opposed to any loan to Russia of any amount and on any conditions." We can only infer that the "Westminster Gazette" regards opposition to the principle of the guaranteed loan as an extremist eccentricity, which few Liberals are likely to entertain. This, we repeat, is to do a grave injustice to Liberal opinion. One would almost imagine from the apologies which are current that we were so much in the habit of guaranteeing loans to foreign Governments that it would be an act of unfriendly discrimination to withhold one from the Soviet Union. The contrary is, of course, the case. "Except under extraordinary circumstances," declared Mr. Masterman last week, in a statement expressing the considered views of the five Liberal members for Manchester and of the Manchester Liberal Federation, "we should oppose at this moment any weakening of British credit by the guaranteeing of any loan, even if a guaranteed loan were desired by our Dominions or late Allies." But how could we grant such a favour to the Soviet Government, and then refuse it to a Dominion Government or indeed to any foreign Government that chose to ask for it? Presumably we should have to reply: "You are able to borrow at 6 or 7 or 8 per cent.; and so long as your credit is good enough for this, we shall not help you to get better terms. But repudiate your debts, destroy your credit altogether, and we shall then consider granting you a privilege which will enable you to borrow at 5 per cent. or less." A guaranteed loan is, in truth, equivalent to a substantial subsidy; and the Soviet Government is not one which on any ground we would single out to subsidize.

This, of course, is only one of many objections to the guaranteed loan. We pointed out a fortnight ago that it would place our economic relations with Russia on a thoroughly unbusiness-like footing by accepting the Soviet Government as the agency by which British capital is to be sunk in Russia. Moreover, while the guaranteed loan is admittedly the pivot of the Treaties, it is by no means the only objectionable feature. In this connection we would commend to our readers the able, clause by clause, examination of the Treaties, issued by Mr. E. A. Lessing, M.P.,\* which is all the more crushing in effect because it is so temperate in tone. These are not Treaties which it is to the advantage of Britain to ratify; and, if that is so, it is assuredly not to the interest of the Liberal Party to dally with them.

## THE DAWES SCHEME AND THE GERMAN LOAN.

By J. M. KEYNES.

**T**HE Dawes Scheme was adopted by general consent. Everyone knew that it involved a loan to Germany, of which this country would be expected to take up from a quarter to a third. The object of this loan was not to help us, but to provide a bait to secure the acceptance of the scheme as a whole by France and by Germany. We are, therefore, honourably committed to the loan, and it is much too late to back out on the

\* "Soviet Treaties." An Examination by E. A. Lessing, M.P. Political Publicity Services, Ltd., 170, Palace Chambers, Westminster. Price 1s.

ground that this is not the part of the scheme from which we ourselves gain direct advantage. It is, in fact, certain that we shall not back out. The Bank of England will undertake to float our fair share of the loan, and it is within the power of the Bank to see the matter through.

This being regarded as settled, we need not be afraid of speaking candidly about the prospects opened out by the Dawes Scheme. I will endeavour to answer four questions which are often asked.

### 1. Is the Loan an essential part of the Experts' Scheme?

Economically and financially—no; diplomatically and psychologically—yes. Since Germany is not expected to have an effective surplus for a year or more, the obvious course was to postpone for a year or more the date at which she should commence to pay. But this was not agreeable to France. It was disagreeable to French opinion out of proportion to the amount of money involved. It was deemed, therefore, to be worth the while of Great Britain and the United States, in order to gain French acquiescence, to take on their own shoulders the burden of the first batch of payments,—particularly if this could be arranged on terms which would give a fair prospect of eventual recoupment from Germany. This was one half of the diplomatic argument. The fact that popular opinion in Germany also attached importance to a foreign loan out of proportion to the amount of money involved furnished the other half. It is absurd, perhaps, that either German or French opinion should be swayed by the expectation of a loan, equal in amount to no more than what Germany is to pay over in the first eight months of the Scheme (by next July Germany will have paid back to the Allies the equivalent of the whole proceeds of the loan—a loan which she will not have touched before the end of this month), and equal to what Germany is supposed to be going to pay every four months for ever, when the Dawes Scheme shall have come into full operation. But crowds are not clever at arithmetic. The Great International Loan has been talked about for years. It is the one matter on which France and Germany have always been agreed—the plan by which the Reparation Bill should be shouldered, in the first instance at least, by Great Britain and the United States. An appearance of some slight concession to this point of view had, therefore, both in France and in Germany, a decisive psychological influence.

### 2. Will the Loan have an immediate and large effect in increasing Germany's competitive power in international markets?

I do not think so. Both those who believe that the loan will restore Europe and therefore restore us, and those who believe that the loan will restore Europe and therefore destroy us,—greatly exaggerate its effect. The amount which the loan will place at Germany's free disposal is small compared with her need of working capital. It is probably less considerable than the sums which have been already invested in Germany during the past few months under the stimulus of high rates of interest. Nor can we expect that it will pave the way for private foreign investment in Germany of much larger sums at ordinary rates of interest. Counteracting considerations, of the kind to be examined below, will continue to deter foreigners from investing in Germany except as a speculation—that is to say, with the knowledge of risk but with expectations of possible profit on a corresponding scale.

The smallness of the sum which the loan will place at Germany's free disposal is due to a fact which is often overlooked. The new State Bank, imposed on Germany

by the Dawes Scheme, is compelled to hold an amount, equal to 33 per cent. of its note issue and 12 per cent. of its deposits, in gold or in foreign banks. The existing gold reserves of the institutions which are to be consolidated into the new Bank fall considerably short of the amount thus required to cover the existing note issue and the existing deposits. Moreover, both of these are much below the levels of note issue and of deposits which Germany would need in normal conditions. It is difficult to estimate just what the circulation and the deposits of the new Bank will be. I calculate, roughly, that about a third of the loan would have to be left behind in the form of deposits in foreign banks, in order to bring the reserves up to the figures requisite in existing conditions.\* But more than the whole of it would be needed for this purpose if conditions were to return to normal. The Dawes Committee themselves seemed to contemplate that the bulk, if not the whole, of the loan should be used in this way, *i.e.*, not to finance imports but to furnish a ground, satisfactory to public opinion, for an increase in the internal note-circulation. Probably, in practice, at least a half of the loan will have to be retained abroad to provide a margin for some immediate expansion in circulation and in deposits.

Thus a considerable part of the sums raised for Germany in London and New York may never leave London or New York, but will remain deposited in those centres. In short, Germany will borrow money from us at (say) 8 per cent. and will simultaneously lend half of it back to us† at (say) 2 per cent. It is not plausible to suppose that this transaction will either ruin us or vastly increase the quantities of cotton or copper or the like which Germany will be able to buy.

One important qualification to this remains to be mentioned. The new Bank is to be allowed, subject to virtual unanimity on the part of the members of its Governing Boards, to let its reserves fall below the prescribed figure on the payment of a fine and the maintenance of a high bank rate. For example, with a bank rate of 10 per cent. per annum, the Bank could afford to pay a fine of 10 per cent. on its reserve deficiency, which, under the Dawes Scheme, would permit a reduction of the note reserve from 33 to 23 per cent. Something of this kind may happen in practice;—10 per cent. is, in fact, the existing bank rate in Germany. Nevertheless, on balance the loan cannot do much to relieve the existing stringency in Germany, since it is only on condition of a continuance of this stringency that most of it can be used. The tying up in this way of Germany's very limited liquid resources is a mistake in the Dawes Scheme.‡

### 3. Is the Loan a satisfactory investment?

One can scarcely answer this until the terms of the loan are published. We may assume, however, that, as regards interest-yield, they will be liberal; for liberal terms will cost Germany nothing (the service of the loan is to be deducted from the sums due from Germany in subsequent years). The loan is likely, therefore, to compare favourably in yield with other loans to foreign Governments.

Is the loan well secured? If it is to be a first charge on all payments by Germany, whether in cash or kind, its service is evidently well within Germany's financial

capacity. In this case there will be nothing against it, except the incalculable, "political" risk attaching, in my opinion, to all loans to foreign Governments. But on this interpretation the loan will be made, in effect, on the credit of the Allied Governments which receive the payments in kind; for, in the not unlikely event of the Transfer Committee being unable to remit cash, those who have received in kind will have to repay the bond-holders in cash.

If, however, it is only a first charge on the cash remittances which the Transfer Committee may be able to effect over and above the deliveries in kind, and if the latter (including one thing and another) may amount to as much as £40,000,000 to £50,000,000 per annum, then it is not well secured. On this important point the Dawes Report is silent.

### 4. Does the Dawes Scheme "settle" the Reparations Problem?

The phrase "Dawes Scheme" has become an incantation inscribed on a closed sphere. The diplomatic solution has depended on a tacit agreement not to look inside or to ask irreverent questions. Almost everyone has connived at this, because no one could propose any alternative next step for the diplomatists. But those who believe that the Dawes Scheme is workable or settles the problem are certainly deceived.

The arguments in favour of accepting the Dawes Scheme as the next step were, and are, two: first, that under cover of it the French may leave the Ruhr; second, that an attempt has been made by its authors so to contrive that, as time goes on, it will itself furnish the demonstration of its own impracticability. But this is far from ridding us of the disease of Reparations. It gives us a short breathing-space; that is all. For, as a concession to diplomatic difficulties, the Dawes Committee have embodied in their Scheme two fatal faults.

In the first place, they do not, in spite of the loan, allow Germany the respite which she needs. Germany's economic weakness is now attributable almost wholly to one single cause,—the exhaustion of her liquid and circulating capital. The course of events during and since the war has reduced this factor of production to a level below what is necessary for efficiency by—at a guess—something like £500,000,000. It is impossible that this shortage should be made good mainly by foreign credits. The outside world might furnish up to (say) a quarter of it, over a period of time, at usurious rates of interest,—that is to say, with an expectation of from 10 to 20 per cent. per annum, the payment of which would be a heavy burden. Foreigners will not invest large sums in Germany at normal rates of interest so long as the Dawes Scheme hangs over her. For the most part, therefore, the shortage cannot be made good in any other way than by Germany's own annual savings being allowed to accumulate at compound interest for a certain period. But this is not compatible with arrangements for skinning her annually. The Dawes experts might have given more attention to making provision for the replenishment of Germany's working capital. Many Englishmen fear that the Dawes plan will injure British industry, because, under it, Germany, subjected to the compulsion of foreign taskmasters in effective charge of the economic system of the country, will deluge our markets with the fruits of sweated and semi-slave labour. In short, they assume that the plan will work. Let them have no such fears. The plan will not work in its entirety; and that part of it which will be operative for a time may actually hinder the recovery by Germany of her full competitive strength. In saying this I do not dissent from the view that a Germany over-stimulated

\* This makes no allowance for the redemption (in April, 1926) of the Dollar-Schatzanweisungen, against which part of the Reichsbank's gold is pledged.

† I write us, but perhaps I should write U.S. For it seems to me doubtful whether English banks can be expected to pay interest on deposits at call repayable in gold (*i.e.*, in dollars). Thus the bulk of Germany's additional reserves may have to be employed as New York call money.

‡ The Bank section of the Dawes Report is, technically, much weaker than the rest, and I am in full agreement with the responsible German authorities who have been criticizing its technical faultiness, notably Professor Kurt Singer and Dr. Hahn.

by force to produce exports competitive with ours, in conditions which our working classes would not tolerate, is injurious to our interests. On the other hand, I do not believe that the restoration of normal prosperity to Germany will be to our disadvantage.

In the second place, the Dawes plan pretends to erect a system which is not compatible with civilization or with human nature. It sets up foreign control over the Banking, the Transport, and the Fiscal Systems of Germany, the object of which will be to extract from the German people the last drop of sweat. In such circumstances every patriotic and public-spirited German will feel it to be his duty and preoccupation, henceforward, to do everything he can to bring this system to confusion and to an end. And if, by a miracle, the system were to work, it would not be long before most Englishmen, for various reasons, would desire the same thing.

No reparations will ever be obtained from Germany except such moderate sums, well within her powers, as she will voluntarily pay. The Dawes Scheme pretends to attempt more than this. Therefore it will fail. But I venture to think that the foreign controls and the elaborate machinery of the Scheme have not been contrived by its authors in a spirit of oppression, but for the purpose of perfecting the demonstration, when the breakdown comes, that every possible precaution had been taken, and that the breakdown was, therefore, due to nothing else but the inherent impossibility of the task which had been set.

#### THE FIFTH ASSEMBLY FROM THE GALLERY.

**W**E all, I imagine, have the same feeling when entering the Assembly hall for the first time. I will call it the thrill of the fifty-four nations. One may read about the League and its scope, or may enjoy the word-pictures drawn by bright young missionaries of the League of Nations Union; but for most of us, in a case such as this, eyes and ears are needed to help out the imagination. Hence it is not at all surprising to hear people of various sorts admitting that they had no notion of what the League actually is until they looked down upon that very remarkable chequer-board of mankind.

What, to begin with, does one notice? First, I think, the general complexion of the world in council—"overwhelmingly brunette," as an American friend expressed it. The English-speaking delegates make a tiny group; the Nordics are few—so few that the members of a certain school of anthropologists must be made acutely unhappy in Geneva. Next comes a most agreeable feeling: a sense of the cordiality prevailing on the floor. It is more than friendliness: it is the recognition of equality. And then, of course, the absentees—Germany, Russia, the United States. Nothing need be said about that.

The Salle de la Réformation has been plentifully abused by the correspondents—not, in my opinion, justly. True, the Assembly has outgrown the space, and the adjoining rooms are miserably inadequate for the needs of delegates, Secretariat, and Press. The projected new headquarters building is an urgent need. But the place, after all, is not bad. A grander hall would probably, in the afternoons, be just as stuffy. The plain wood which the Swiss know how to use makes a not unpleasant interior; and English people who call this a barn must have forgotten the delectable caverns in which our Church and Trade Union Congresses are wont to meet.

The acoustics, again, are decried. On this I can only say that I listened from many different points in the galleries and heard all the speakers and translators with ease. But the hall, they say, is shocking as the scene of a deliberative assembly. It is: but so will any chamber of sufficient size be, unless drastic changes are made. Adequate room for the delegates, for instance, must mean a severe restriction of the gallery space, and the establishment of a different relation between the Assembly and the audience. The gallery must accept the rule of silence.

The thrill of the fifty-four nations is not a momentary experience. It is powerful enough, with many people who go to Geneva for something other than the show, to enable them to support the almost intolerable tedium of the Assembly. Very much of that is inseparable from the misery born of the confusion of tongues. Not in our lifetime will that misery be materially diminished. The present bilingual procedure can hardly survive the entry of Germany into the League. The balance is now markedly on the side of French. One wonders what will happen when the United States joins the family.

In all international conferences the interpreter is a beneficent nuisance. At Geneva he is a terrible weight—for the reason that he may not summarize. Virtually every paragraph is translated. It cannot, I think, be denied that the mechanism of the Assembly is deplorable. I am sure that the continued infliction of the torment that is endured by those who conscientiously sit out plenary sessions is unnecessary and humiliating. On the rare occasions when a debate occurs the business of translation as we have it now is obviously unavoidable. But what percentage of the speeches are extempore? All save a very few of those I heard were read from manuscript, the sheets being passed to the interpreter as each one was done with. Mr. MacDonald is independent of his paper. M. Herriot's major speech was all in writing. M. Benes read, with extreme rapidity, an elaborate statement that took an hour; and inevitably the hall emptied as that remarkable interpreter, Signora Agresti, stood up to begin what the President rightly called a very heavy task.

The waste and pain of all this is a capital fact of the Assembly. So far as I could judge, there is no reason why—in, say, four cases out of five—the translation should not be in type and ready for distribution in the hall at the moment of the speaker's rising. Perhaps, however, it is thought that some translation from the platform is demanded. If so, dignity might surely be appeased with an allowance of five minutes. In any case, the present arrangement is humiliating. If the original writer of Genesis xi. could have foreseen the world's most hopeful experiment, coming after a more horrible deluge than the one of which he had heard, would he not have swooned at the marvel of the curse of Babel?

Next to the evil of polyglotry, one must put the twin plagues of prolixity and rhetoric. Nothing in the world is easier to understand. The League is very new; so new that most of those who are in it are not yet convinced that it is there. And it provides a wondrous opportunity. Any member of any delegation can address the Assembly, if a gap occurs. And who shall say what it means for the spokesman of an outraged or forgotten race to have the ear of the world for one miraculous hour? "Sovereign States," my neighbour remarked, "mustn't challenge their prerogative." But a time-limit will have to be imposed, and eloquence be barred. Judged on its form, the best speech I heard was by M. Politis—sixty minutes of graceful parliamentary French, memorized and recited without a scrap of paper. Wonderful! But

after a verbatim translation, how much is left of a half-day's sitting? Apply scientific management, and the plenary sessions might easily furnish opportunity for actual, and invaluable, world debate.

The mention of eloquence brings me, by a bee-line, to the British Prime Minister. He did not treat the Assembly as a deliberative body, but rather as a victory demonstration in the Albert Hall. His fervour of utterance was startling. My own strong opinion is that it spoilt his second speech—the one in which he commended, but did not expound, the joint resolution on Disarmament. This most typical MacDonald utterance, which began perfectly, was, I think, wrong in tone for the Assembly, although, needless to say, it achieved a booming success with the galleries. But I am bound to admit that a number of my colleagues in the lobby took an opposite view.

I come now to the two delegations which were, of necessity, the poles of the Fifth Assembly. Ramsay MacDonald had a marvellous welcome, which no one who witnessed it is likely to forget. But Geneva appeared to give the central place to Herriot. The crowd outside (naturally) was for him. The windows of the bookshops were full of his book on Madame Récamier. As to the personnel of the delegations, there could be no dispute about the main fact. The French had it. Léon Bourgeois, Briand, Loucheur, and that discovery of the year, the brilliant Socialist, Paul Boncour—these made a bench with which ours could not compete, in either collective ability or international experience. They represented all the chief parties in France; but they were a unit, such as could not be made out of Lord Parmoor and Professor Murray, Mr. Henderson and Mrs. Swanwick. There were complaints, I am afraid well founded, about the official English behaviour. The delegation was inaccessible. Its secrecy was deeply resented. One could not see evidence of any efficient team work. It was only too plain that there was no single mind or direction. Lord Parmoor's speech, in reply to M. Herriot's first, seemed to many of us little short of a disaster. As Lord Parmoor's subsequent action showed, it was not an expression of British policy, although its central point was invulnerable. The kinder fellows among the correspondents argued that the camp-meeting manner, which Lord Parmoor put on for the occasion, did no harm. With that opinion I emphatically disagree.

Five widely diversified things are, perhaps, worth noting in conclusion:—

1. Everybody in the city was talking of the fresh atmosphere surrounding the Fifth Assembly; and most people, I think, gave the credit chiefly to Ramsay MacDonald. His note had not been heard in the Assembly before; his great speech seemed to open a new and splendid chapter for the League.

2. The United States is not in the League of Nations, but is in the audience. The gallery is, to an astonishing extent, occupied by Americans.

3. By contrast, the League of Nations is neglected by our English Progressives. There may have been three Members of Parliament present during the Prime Minister's week. I saw not one important editor, and only two or three professors of political science from England.

4. The Press service was excellent—notwithstanding the deplorable lapse in connection with the text of the Arbitration and Disarmament pact.

5. Lord Cecil is a legend in Geneva.

A LIBERAL JOURNALIST.

## LIFE AND POLITICS

**T**HE newspapers in this country have devoted an enormous amount of space to the doings of the Prince of Wales in and about New York; and have succeeded in giving the impression that the visit was a great and unmitigated popular success. In only one newspaper, the "Manchester Guardian," has there been a suggestion of the real disquiets which prevail on the subject. I do not know what good purpose is supposed to be served by ignoring here what everybody in America is discussing, but now that papers of the authority of the "New York Times" and the "New York World," eminently friendly to this country, have publicly discussed the subject in severe terms, it is time the journalistic silence in this country was broken. I have received from one of the ablest and most responsible of living Americans a letter on the subject in which he expresses much the same view as that put forward in the "New York Times." Needless to say, his criticism is of those who engineered the visit and were responsible for the circumstances in which it was carried out. "In the first place," he says, "the Prince's coming to Long Island in September of a Presidential year was a deplorable mistake. He was planted within a few miles of J. W. Davis's home, a fact which put Davis in a frightful quandary. Davis, as a former Ambassador, would naturally have had to show courtesies to him; as a Presidential candidate he simply could not be involved in the sort of gaieties which enveloped the Prince. The result was that Davis's Western trip had to be timed so that Davis should be west of Chicago the whole time the Prince was in this country." In the second place, my correspondent deplores the fact that the Prince was allowed to be "surrounded by a group of newly rich social thrusters who exploited him in the most flagrant fashion," and enters into details which need not be given here. Finally, he says, the political effect has been disastrous. "It is utterly impossible to persuade the mass of people in this country that the British economic situation requires a sympathetic attitude when the life at Long Island is held before their eyes daily as a symbol of what Great Britain in its highest expression delights in." The harm is done, but in view of the future the organizers of this badly advised affair ought to be brought to book.

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The question of the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, which every believer in that institution is anxious to bring about, is complicated by the delay in the withdrawal from the Ruhr. M. Herriot is personally sincerely desirous of the inclusion of Germany in the League, and the French attitude has substantially changed on the subject. But while the French remain in the Ruhr it is difficult for them to place the Germans in the position to raise the question in the Council of the League. For nearly two years the Council has turned a blind eye upon the dominating fact in European affairs. It is officially unaware of the presence of the French in the Ruhr, and, being unaware of it, it has naturally found no difficulty in avoiding the discussion of so disagreeable a subject. But this state of nescience obviously cannot be guaranteed when the Germans take their place at the Council table. They have been and are most uncomfortably aware that the French are in the Ruhr, and they would be more than human if they did not wish to know what the Council thought and proposed to do about it. The difficulty will doubtless be overcome, but it is not the least serious of the consequences of most unfortunate delay in doing the right thing.

I hear that Mr. Churchill's prospects in the Epping Division, in spite of the substantial Conservative majority at the last election, are not too rosy. There is a formidable opposition to him in the Conservative ranks, and among the opponents are officials who refuse to endorse his candidature in any circumstances and will take the field publicly against him. This hostility comes from the old guard of the party, who have long memories, and suspect that, having deserted them once, Mr. Churchill is not to be trusted. Apart from this there is the general discredit summed up in the word Gallipoli which Mr. Churchill has to encounter wherever he goes, and which prevails widely in quarters which have no party affiliations. Nor is Mr. Churchill likely to have much success in angling for Liberal votes. He will have against him, I understand, Mr. Granville Sharp, who made so excellent a fight at the last election, and has established a remarkable hold upon the more thoughtful element of the constituency by that deliberate appeal to the facts and the reason which made Sir John Simon's years in the neighbouring constituency of Walthamstow so memorable. The one point in Mr. Churchill's favour is, of course, the probability of a three-cornered contest. If that advantage were removed it is probable that the Liberal candidate would win, for Mr. Churchill will lose heavily from the Conservative vote and will withdraw nothing from the Liberal vote.

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The public life of the country is poorer by the death of Lord Long of Wraxall. He was, I think, the last and one of the best of a not ignoble tradition. He was the country squire of ancient heritage and aristocratic prejudices born out of due time and plunged into the political stream when that stream was sweeping into new channels. A patriarchal landlordism was to him the foundation-stone of the national structure, and, as the readers of his "Memories" will recall, fox-hunting was not a mere sport, but a sacred rite, almost a religion, that embodied the secret of England's greatness. Combined with this ingenuous view of society was a very wholesome and public-spirited sense of the responsibilities of his class. He was born to the saddle, but he had to ride straight. Within its limits, his mind was singularly honest, and I knew few more interesting things than to see the dawning of a new point of view, that made havoc of his prejudices, upon his candid but not very quick intelligence. It was like a painful operation that made him sweat blood, but no degree of discomfort could make him reject conclusions the reasonableness of which carried conviction to his essentially just mind. He was the most implacable of Unionists, but I remember John Redmond contrasting his occupancy of the Irish Secretaryship very favourably with that of much more distinguished and enlightened men who preceded and followed him in that office. His disappointment, of course, was the loss of the succession to the Tory leadership after the retirement of Mr. Baldwin from that position. It was a misfortune to the party as well as a grief to him, for though he was fundamentally a Die-Hard, his mind was accessible to ideas, and he was not merely a good Parliamentarian but a likeable man and the best representative of the old Tory creed.

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It is a disquieting outlook which is presented in the Census Director's recently issued report on the population problem of South Africa. He estimates that at the present rate of increase the present total of one and a half million whites in the Union will in thirty years have reached  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions, while the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million coloured people will have increased to  $18\frac{1}{2}$  millions. From these premises he arrives at the conclusion that the white population may lose its domination and even be forced to abandon

the country. It is not a novel view. Others have long held that South Africa is not permanently a white man's country. If there were a stream of white immigration in prospect, the forebodings of the Census Director might be discounted, but South Africa, apart from the mining industry, has never been a magnet for the white man, and neither the Labour Party nor the Boers have shown any desire to have him. The only race that is attracted to South Africa is the Indian, whom the white population of the Union do not want. They would be welcome in British Guiana, but there they show no disposition to go.

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Mr. Hugh Chisholm never quite fulfilled the radiant promise of his boyhood. I remember him in his days at Felsted School, when he must have been one of the handsomest and most accomplished youths of his time. Everything seemed possible to him both in school and out, and Felsted, which was then rather famous as a winner of scholarships, never sent out so brilliant a challenger into the lists of the world. By comparison with that high promise, his subsequent career was a little disappointing. He was an admirable editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," a successful journalist, and personally a most attractive man, but he left on the mind of one who remembered him more than forty years ago the impression that he had lost the old glamour and mastery. Perhaps it was that he never quite found his true task in life, for I do not think it was journalism.

A. G. G.

## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

### TOWARDS NIAGARA.

OCTOBER 1ST, 1924.

**T**HE House of Commons has reassembled in a curious frame of mind. Ostensibly, holidays and country campaigns have been interrupted solely to deal with the implementing of the Irish Treaty. But in reality no one cares a twopenny plum about the Irish Treaty. The House would have been satisfied if, after the declarations of the leaders of the three parties, the Government Bill had passed through all its stages in one night and the members gone about their business. Tuesday's sitting, however, was significant of much. For the first hour the place was like a bear garden, and the Speaker had the utmost difficulty in controlling a passionate assembly. But this was almost entirely occupied by a torrent of questions concerning the prosecution of the "Workers' Weekly," and the sudden withdrawal of it. It must be confessed that the unfortunate Patrick Hastings cut a most deplorable figure; and the more supplementary questions he answered, the deeper he floundered in the morass. Mr. MacDonald was careful—as it seemed deliberately—to dissociate himself from his Attorney-General: and it appears not improbable that he will have to find shortly another Law Officer of the Crown.

Immediately the House turned to the question of Ireland, the atmosphere became funereal. Indeed, the debate might almost have been a continuance of the obsequies of the late Walter Long. The Prime Minister read with amazing rapidity a carefully prepared type-written statement, which was entirely creditable to its author. The arguments were indeed unanswerable. But it was read amid dead silence, with perfunctory cheers at the end; and one could count numbers of Members opposite, happy in the restful refuge of sleep. Mr. Baldwin was pleasant and futile, as in the majority of his utterances. He raised not a note of fight or enthusiasm amongst his supporters, or of opposition or bitterness amongst his opponents. He sat down in an unbroken silence. Mr. Asquith showed that he had recovered from his cold, and speaking without a note, from the Opposi-

tion front bench, exhibited all his mastery of phrase and capacity for unequalled lucid exposition. But he also ended on a sombre note. The atmosphere of the House was reflected in the temper of the speakers: desperate appeals to Irishmen to settle their own quarrels: desperate hope that England would never hear of the internal quarrels of Ireland again. Afterwards Lord Hugh Cecil in a silent but intensely appreciative House made one of those brilliant speeches of his, which, when delivered, excite wonder why he is drawing towards three-score years and has done nothing—inside or outside Parliament. But the surprise of the evening was an oration by Mr. Harney, the Liberal Member for South Shields, himself an Irishman, which excited storms of laughter and cheers, and was probably one of the most successful back-bench utterances delivered in the present Parliament.

But men's minds are far from Ireland. The *Entente* between Liberal and Labour is visibly weakening, and may suddenly snap at any moment. The personal friendliness which kept things sweet and pleasant while Parliament was sitting has vanished before the campaigns in the constituencies. I should think that in any case a repetition of this year's experience is frankly impossible. The "hewers of wood and drawers of water" swallowed insults and obloquy from Socialist newspapers and the more arrogant members of the Labour front bench. They have come back after the experience of Labour men putting up against them in their own constituencies and denouncing them as lepers, liars, and thieves. Those who hoped for a *rapprochement* between Liberal and Labour are frankly in despair. Those who never desired such an alliance are getting into a state of mind when they are almost content that Toryism shall win, so long as, in their destruction, Labour is destroyed also. It may be irrational, but it is entirely human. It is curious to note that in the Labour speaking campaign, the fluency of the members in the country has been directly proportional to their futility in the House. Those who have been successful—Mr. Snowden, for example, Mr. Thomas, and others, hardworking, courteous, and successful—have been silent. The insolence of the challenge has been maintained by the Hodges, the Ben Spoons, the Clynes, the Patrick Hastings, the pitiable Mr. Shaw, the Liberal renegades (or converts)—men who have utterly failed on the Front Bench. It is evident that the Labour Government may be defined in a paraphrase of Bernard Shaw's definition. "He who can—does. He who cannot—speaks on the Labour platform." An exception is Mr. Wheatley—but his speeches attacking Liberalism are found, on analysis, to resolve themselves into demands that every Labour candidate at the next election shall be a Socialist. The deliberately aitchless Thomas (in Mrs. Webb's definition) is not to be allowed to have the reversion of the Labour leadership, if this Irish Catholic politician can prevent it.

The smash will come, I think, on the Russian Treaty. All the madmen on the Labour side are forcing forward the unhappy MacDonald into a position which he cannot get out of, without a fissure in his own party. On the other hand, I find practically a solid Liberal Party eager to take up the challenge, and prepared definitely to defy the Labour policy of a Government guaranteed loan to the Bolsheviks. Unless the Government can somehow wriggle out of this guarantee, nothing can prevent a clash which will change the future of British politics. But what would be the result of it all—no man could prophesy.

The gossip is therefore of Mr. MacDonald's motor-car and Sir Alexander Grant's baronetcy—with no moral indignation, but the usual cynical atmosphere of the smoking-room—a lifting of the eyes, a shrugging of the shoulders. Many Labour Members, facing the natural enthusiasm of their extremists in great meetings, have returned with the sincere belief that the Bolshevik Treaty is an electioneering asset. The Liberals have found a universal objection to a guaranteed loan. The Tories have found a natural cry which they hope may disguise all their divisions and Protectionist hankерings and incompetence of leaders and absence of programme—as little Mr. Amery cries—no Treaty with the murderers.

One envisages an intensified campaign of all parties after the Irish Bill is passed, and a House facing, not Ireland, but realities at home in less than a month's time. Every Member's attention is directed towards his constituency—and no one is considering the programme of mild factory Bills or votes to girls of twenty-one. It may safely be asserted that this privilege will not be accorded to such girls before the next election. It cannot be denied that this fumbling and blundering over the Russian Treaty—for which, justly or unjustly, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Ponsonby are blamed—has cut down the hopes of those who saw a *Bloc Gauche* arising out of the present chaos, with some stability and advance in social reform. If this mess was not confronting Parliament the process of understanding and friendliness initiated chiefly from the Labour side by Mr. Snowden and Mr. Thomas, might have borne rich fruit. But in the Irish Debate, although both ostensibly on the same side, Liberals refused to cheer the good points of Labour speakers, and Labour the good points of Liberal. One thing is certain—if Mr. MacDonald was bluffing at Derby he has failed. The Liberals will refuse utterly a Government guaranteed loan to Russia. The "Parole" will then be with the Government.

M.P.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### TWO ADDITIONAL HIGH COURT JUDGES.

SIR,—Before the House rose it was intimated that the Attorney-General would, in the Autumn Session, move, on behalf of the Government, an address authorizing the appointment of two additional High Court Judges. The appointment of two additional Judges is quite unnecessary, and would be a wasteful expenditure of money, and should be stoutly opposed.

The usual ground in support of the proposal will doubtless be put forward that the Judges are unable to cope with the amount of work now coming before the Courts. It is true that there are arrears in some of the lists in the King's Bench Division, due partly to the unfortunate illness of one or two of the Judges. Under the stern rule of Lord Russell there were no arrears to complain of. The proposal is peculiarly ill-timed. There has been a depressing falling off of new work. The Junior Bar first feels the pinch of slackness, and for some time past there has been a great slackness of work in the Temple and Lincoln's Inn. If the present slump in litigation continues there will not be sufficient work for the present staff of Judges.

Let us hope, however, matters will improve, and if they do there is still no reason to increase the judicial staff. When I was called to the Bar the Courts sat on Saturdays from 10.30 to 1.30 or 2 o'clock—three to three and a half hours. There are no Saturday sittings now except perhaps one Judge or two Judges for *ex parte* motions. Sometimes there are no motions, and when there are they last only a few minutes. When Saturday sittings were formally discontinued, about a dozen years ago, it was represented that the Courts would sit a quarter of an hour earlier in the morning and a quarter of an hour later in the afternoon, making a day of five and a half hours instead of five hours—an exchange of two and a half hours a week for three to three and a half hours on Saturday; but this farce was not kept up very long, and many of the Courts sit at 10.30, to the convenience of everyone. Having regard to the difficulties of transport in the Metropolitan area and the practice of having consultations in the morning before the Courts sit, 10.15 is too early and 10.30 is early enough. If the Saturday sittings are still to be dropped, let the sittings on the other days be from 10.30 to 4.30 or 5 o'clock (with the present adjournment of half an hour for lunch), and if this is regularly done the arrears will soon disappear.

The shortening of the long vacation is overdue. This question has been raised frequently, but has always been ignored or shelved by Judges and Lord Chancellors, to the great injustice of litigants, counsel, and solicitors. The long vacation lasts ten weeks, and is prolonged for the benefit of the Judges and a few busy counsel. When the Common Law

Courts sat in Westminster Hall and at the Guildhall it was the practice of the Judges to clear their lists at the end of each term and leave no arrears. They would sit as early as 9 a.m. and late into the evening and sometimes into next morning to accomplish their task; and doubtless a long vacation was necessary both for Judges and counsel after these laborious efforts. There are no such sittings now. There has been no alteration in the length of the long vacation since 1883, when it was reduced by a few days. The number of days by which the vacation was then reduced was a compromise, and it was expected that another reduction would take place within a few years, but none has taken place. There are three other vacations—Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun. The number of days a Judge ordinarily sits—assuming that he does not go circuit—is approximately 165, and the length of the day does not exceed five or five and a half hours. If he goes circuit he sits fewer days, as time is taken up travelling from circuit town to circuit town, and sometimes he sits a longer day than five or five and a half hours, and occasionally not so long. In view of these facts, there is really no justification for prolonging the long vacation to ten weeks. The long vacation might well expire on September 30th instead of October 11th, and Michaelmas term begin on October 1st instead of October 12th.

This would give eight or nine good working days. There are no arrears worth speaking of in the Court of Appeal or House of Lords. The long vacation can continue as at present in those tribunals, but let all the puisne Judges resume work on October 1st in each year, and all arrears would soon disappear, and likewise the necessity for appointing additional Judges, and the miseries of the long vacation to many would be mitigated. It is no light matter that hundreds of struggling barristers should be restricted to enforced idleness in order that Judges and a few busy counsel may enjoy themselves. There are some twenty-three puisne Judges in the King's Bench, Chancery and Probate, &c., Divisions, and if they were to sit eight or nine additional days in the judicial year they would between them accomplish more than one additional Judge could in the year.

The Chancery Division, consisting of six puisne Judges, is overstaffed, and five Judges are ample for the work in that Division. The practice of Chancery Judges "running in pairs" is a comparatively recent innovation, is wasteful in judicial time and money, and is not really necessary, and might without much inconvenience be discontinued. One of the six Judges in that Division could, without impeding business in the Chancery Courts, be transferred to the King's Bench Division if an additional Judge is necessary in the latter Division; but I have already shown that if a regular day of five to five and a half hours is established or Saturday sittings are revived and the long vacation is shortened no extra Judge is necessary.

The Divorce Court still has many suitors; but if more suits were remitted to the Assizes for trial the position as to arrears in that Court would soon become normal.

It is manifest that the proposed motion by the Attorney-General is quite unnecessary. The Judges and the Lord Chancellor have the means, as I have indicated, of putting an end to the arrears, and it is for them to do so, not for Parliament to authorize the appointment of extra Judges and the unjustifiable expenditure of public money.—Yours, &c.,

TEMPLAR.

#### THE RUSSIAN TREATY.

SIR,—I should be glad if you would permit me to say a word in agreement with your own attitude (as I understand it) toward the proposed Russian Treaty. The objections which naturally arise in the mind of a Liberal (quite apart from the unpleasing story of how it came to be abandoned and rehabilitated) seem to me to be manifold. May I venture to refer to a few?

In the first case a Liberal is not prepared to pledge British credit for the purpose of forwarding Socialistic (much less Communistic) schemes here in England. If we have reputable men to superintend them, decent workmen to carry them through, close check upon them in that they are carried out in our lives and under our eyes, even so a Liberal declares and argumentatively upholds their certain and disastrous failure. How then can he consider the pledging of that credit under a group of men who, by admission, have climbed to power under dreadful circumstances—and in a

country remote from this, where disaster and ruin could and would take place unseen and unnoticed, till its evidences forced themselves past the jealous guardianship of the Russian rulers?

This matter of principle seems to me to be enough. It is, however, reinforced by numerous other considerations. The defences raised by the Socialist leaders are centred round the position of the bondholders and the matter of unemployment. As to the latter, it is proudly announced that 60 per cent. of the loan would be spent in England!

I wonder, Sir, what would be thought of a shopkeeper who improved his turnover by lending £100 to an insolvent bankrupt on the understanding that he would spend £60 in the shop. If we are willing to lend to any country in the world backed by our own guarantee we can readily arrange that 100 per cent. can be spent in England. Is prosperity, Sir, so easy to win that we can obtain it by lending our friends our money to buy from us our own goods?

And are we so strangely constituted that it is essential to select as that friend one who declares profit, interest, capital—all and everything that makes trade up and makes trade possible—to be an infinite evil?

It must be remembered that it is not proposed that the Russians should say: "We cannot as a practical fact pay our debt, but we admit our liability and will use a portion of your loan to be fairly divided among our creditors." That would be understandable, however it might be criticized. It is proposed, rather, that the Russian should say: "I still affirm the right of a new Government to repudiate the debts of the last. If, however, you will accept this (to you) dishonest theory we will pay for your acquiescence by returning some of your loan to some of your nationals. This as a bargain, and to detach them from their fellow creditors."

I speak as a Liberal—and therewith a candidate for Parliament—who would rather see Liberalism go to any electoral disaster than soil itself by touching this treaty. I speak also as one who has sufficient faith in the people of this country to believe that disaster would be far more likely to come if it did touch it.—Yours, &c.,

RONALD F. WALKER.

#### THE REPARATION RECOVERY ACT.

SIR,—Many of your readers besides myself will, I am sure, be grateful to Mr. Keynes for explaining to us in your issue of September 20th that the Reparation Recovery Act is anything more than an application of Michael Finsbury's maxim, "Anything to give pain!" Personally I regard it as one of the most detestable pieces of legislation of recent times, and that the present Government should have reintroduced it is very disappointing. It is, perhaps, particularly troublesome to scholars requiring from Germany books or photographs of manuscripts indispensable for their work. These are held up at a place ironically called "Mount Pleasant" for days, or sometimes weeks, while the would-be recipient is required to fill up complicated forms and to answer questions which are often unanswerable, as, for instance, to state the contents and value of packets which he has had no opportunity of seeing. At the present moment two registered packets of Persian books addressed to me from a Persian bookseller in Berlin are lying at Mount Pleasant, while I am required to "complete" several elaborate forms, which are then to be "presented or transmitted by post to the Collector of Customs and Excise . . . together with:—

- (1) the amount of the reparation payment . . .
- (2) the relative invoice . . .
- (3) a copy of the invoice . . .
- (4) this notice," and "a separate declaration (in duplicate) on Form No. 140."

As Persians never send invoices, it is impossible to comply with Nos. 2 and 3 of the above requirements, while the amount of the reparation payment can obviously be determined only by someone who is in a position to ascertain the contents of the parcels and their value. All Custom-houses are a nuisance, but at least the ordinary frontier Custom-house, which does so much to mar the pleasure of travel, itself fixes the amount of its exactions, and does not require its victim to calculate in one currency the equivalent in another currency, subject to a variable rate of exchange, at 26 per cent. of the unknown value of an unseen article.

And why 26 instead of 25 per cent., unless the object be to create trouble and waste time? For the waste of time involved appears to me a much more serious matter than whether the tax is paid by the sender or receiver. No scientist or scholar, especially no Orientalist, can dispense with books produced in Germany, and if our Government had any care for or sympathy with learning, one would suppose that they might have exempted books, and perhaps scientific instruments also, from the operation of this irritating and retrograde legislation.

It would be interesting to know what proportion of the "reparations" thus obtained is spent on providing the extra staff required to operate this cumbrous machinery.—Yours, &c.,

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

#### "OCCUPATIONAL MORTALITY."

SIR.—In his interesting article (THE NATION AND THE ATHENÆUM for September 20th), Dr. Haldane has the remark, "although Pearl has shown that moderate but habitual drinkers are distinctly healthier than total abstainers." If Professor Pearl could only substantiate by scientifically obtained facts a statement so subversive of the findings of previous scientific research he would win the undying gratitude of a very wealthy organization. It is unfortunate that Dr. Haldane does not appear to have read the second (revised) edition of "Alcohol: Its Effect on the Human Organism," a work the scientific authority of which is, by general admission, second to none. For there we find (p. 144) that the eight members of the Alcohol Investigation Committee "are of opinion that Professor Pearl's results go superior health. The eight experts think that the great difference between the docker and the coalminer in "comes some way to diminish the hesitation with which we have

accepted the face value of the Assurance Companies' data in the present connection." In other words, his results actually confirm statistics which he believed he was destroying. For, whilst his numbers are relatively "small" and are "irregular," his statistics give, when properly classified, an average advantage in point of years of life to the abstainer of 1.52 for the age quinquennia thirty to sixty (both included), whilst the Life Assurance statistics give an advantage of 2.41; the percentage of the difference being as 5.75 to 9.72. So the Committee "think the effect of Professor Pearl's research is to strengthen the *prima facie* case founded on assurance data."

Again, earlier in his article, Dr. Haldane advances the theory that some kinds of dust "seem to be beneficial," because whilst "the coalminer's lungs are perfectly black" his phthisis is "only the same as that of the agricultural labourer." It may well be granted that volume for volume public-house dust is worse than coal dust. But the work above quoted gives (p. 117) good ground for belief that another factor in the miner's life has really to be thanked for his superior health. The eight experts think that the great difference between the docker and the coalminer in "comparative mortality from alcoholism" is "reasonably attributed to the continuous or quasi-continuous drinking among dock labourers, and to the absence of that type of drinking among the coalminers."

"Moderate but habitual." The words might lead us to suppose that the regularity of the dose was an advantage. Whereas the trend of research goes to show that to have this narcotic constantly in the blood, even in small quantities, is more injurious than are occasional outbursts to high efficiency, to personal health, and to offspring.—Yours, &c.,

THEODORE NEILD.

Leominster, September 23rd

## MADAME DE SÉVIGNE'S COUSIN

By LYTTON STRACHEY.

MADAME DE SÉVIGNE was one of those chosen beings in whom the forces of life are so abundant and so glorious that they overflow in every direction and invest whatever they meet with the virtue of their own vitality. She was the sun of a whole system, which lived in her light—which lives still for us with a kind of reflected immortality. We can watch—with what a marvellous distinctness!—the planets revolving through that radiance—the greater and the less, and the subordinate moons and dimmest asteroids—from Madame de Grignan herself to the dancing gypsies at Vichy. But then, when the central luminary is withdrawn, what an incredible convulsion! All vanish; we are dimly aware for a little of some obscure shapes moving through strange orbits; and after that there is only darkness.

Emmanuel de Coulanges, for instance. He lived a long life, filled his own place in the world, married, travelled, had his failures and his successes . . . but all those happenings were mere phenomena; the only reality about him lay in one thing—he was Madame de Sévigné's cousin. He was born when she was seven years old, and he never knew a time when he had not loved her. She had petted the little creature when it was a baby, and she had gone on petting it all her life. He had not been quite an ordinary child: he had had strange fancies. There was a fairy, called *Cafut*, so he declared, to whom he was devoted; this was not approved of—it looked like incipient madness; and several whippings had to be administered before *Cafut* was exorcised. In reality, no one could have been saner than the little Emmanuel; but he had ways of amusing himself which seemed unaccountable to the grandly positive generation into which he had been born. There was something about him which made him no fit contemporary of Boesuet. Madame de Sévigné, so completely, so magnificently, a child of her age, while

she loved him, could never take him quite seriously. In her eyes, though he might grow old, he could not grow up. At the age of sixty, white-haired and gouty, he remained for her what, in fact, his tiny pink-cheeked rotundity suggested—an infant still. She found him adorable and unimportant. Even his sins—and in those days sins were serious—might, somehow or other, be disregarded; and besides, she observed that he had only one—it was *gaudeamus*; she scolded him with a smile. It was delightful to have anything to do with him—to talk with him, to laugh at him, to write to him. "Le style qu'on a en lui écrivant," she said, "ressemble à la joie et à la santé." It was true; and some of her most famous, some of her most delicious and life-scattering letters were written to her cousin Coulanges.

He married well—a lady who was related to the great Louvois; but the connection did him little good in the world. For a moment, indeed, an important public office was dangled before his eyes; but it was snapped up by somebody else, and Coulanges, after a few days of disappointment, consoled himself easily enough—with a song. He was very fond of songs, composing them with elegant rapidity to the popular airs of the day; every circumstance of his existence, however grave or however trivial—a journey, a joke, the world's cruelties, his wife's infidelities—he rigged them all out in the bows and ribbons of his little rhymes. His wife was pretty, gay, fashionable, and noted for her epigrams. Her admirers were numerous: there was the Comte de Brancas, famous—immortal, even, as he has his niche in La Bruyère's gallery—for his absentmindedness; there was the Abbé Tétu, remarkable for two things—for remaining the friend both of Madame de Montespan and of Madame de Maintenon, and for being the first person who was ever afflicted by the vapours; and there was the victorious—

the scandalously victorious—Marquis de la Trouse. Decidedly the lady was gay—too gay to be quite to the taste of Madame de Sévigné, who declared that she was a leaf fluttering in the wind. "Cette feuille," she said, "est la plus frivole et la plus légère marchandise que vous ayez jamais vue." But Coulanges was indifferent to her lightness; what he did feel was her inordinate success at Court. There she gadded, in a blaze of popularity, launching her epigrams and hobnobbing with Madame de Maintenon; he was out of it; and he was growing old, and the gout attacked him in horrid spasms. At times he was almost sad.

Then, gradually and for no apparent reason, there was a change. What was it? Was the world itself changing? Was one age going out and another coming in? From about the year 1690 onwards, one begins to discern the first signs of the petrifaction, the *rigor mortis* of the great epoch of Louis XIV.; one begins to detect, more and more clearly in the circumambient atmosphere, the scent and savour of the eighteenth century. Already there had been symptoms—there had been the fairy *Cafut*, and the Abbé Tétu's vapours. But now there could be no more doubt about it; the new strange tide was flowing steadily in. And upon it was wafted the cockleshell of Coulanges. At fifty-seven, he found that he had come into his own. No longer was he out of it—far from it: his was now the popularity, the inordinate success. He was asked everywhere, and he always fitted in. His songs particularly, his frivolous neat little songs, became the rage; they flew from mouth to mouth; and the young people, at all the fashionable parties, danced as they sang them. At last they were collected by some busybody and printed, to his fury and delight; and his celebrity was redoubled. At the same time a wonderful rejuvenation came upon him; he seemed to grow younger daily; he drank, he guzzled, with astonishing impunity; there must have been a mistake, he said, in his birth certificate—it was ante-dated at least twenty years. As for his gout, it had gone for ever; he had drowned it by bathing, when he was over sixty, all one summer in the Seine. Madame de Sévigné could only be delighted. She had given a great deal of thought to the matter, she told him, and she had come to the conclusion that he was the happiest man in the world. Probably she was right—she almost always was. But, oddly enough, while Coulanges was undergoing this transformation, a precisely contrary one had befallen his wife. She had, in sober truth, grown old—old, and disillusioned, and serious. She could bear the Court no longer—she despised it; she wavered between piety and stoicism; quietly, persistently, she withdrew into herself. Madame de Sévigné, philosophizing and quoting La Fontaine, found—it was surprising—that she admired her—the poor brown leaf; and, on her side, Madame de Coulanges grew more and more devoted to Madame de Sévigné. Her husband mildly amused her. As she watched him flying from country-house to country-house, she suggested that it would save time and trouble if he lived in a swing, so that he might whirl backwards and forwards for the rest of his days, without ever having to touch the earth again. "C'est toujours son plaisir qui le gouverne," she observed, with an ironical smile; "et il est heureux: en faut-il davantage?" Apparently not. Coulanges, adored by beautiful young Duchesses, disputed over by enormously wealthy Dowagers, had nothing left to wish for. The gorgeous Cardinal de Bouillon took him up—so did the Duc de Bouillon, and the Chevalier—all the Bouillons, in fact; it was a delightful family. The Cardinal carried him off to his country palace, where there was music all day long, and the servants had the air of noblemen, and the *ragouts* reached a height of ecstatic piquancy—*ragouts*

from every country in Europe, it seemed—how they understood each other when they came together on his plate, he had no idea—but no matter; he ate them all.

In the midst of this, the inevitable and the unimaginable happened: Madame de Sévigné died. The source of order, light, and heat was no more; the reign of Chaos and Old Night descended. One catches a hurried vision of Madame de Grignan, pale as death, elaborating sentences of grief; and then she herself and all her belongings—her husband, her son, her castle, with its terraces and towers, its Canons, its violins, its Mistral, its hundred guests—are utterly abolished. For a little longer, through a dim penumbra, Coulanges and his wife remain just visible. She was struck down—overwhelmed with grief and horror. Was it possible, was it really possible, that Madame de Sévigné was dead? She could hardly believe it. It was a reversal of nature. Surely it could not be. She sat alone, considering life and death, silent, harrowed, and sceptical, while her husband—ah! even her husband felt this blow. The little man wrote a piteous letter to Madame de Grignan's daughter, young Madame de Simiane, and tears blotted the page. He was only a shadow now—all too well he knew it; and yet even shadows must obey the law of their being. In a few weeks he wrote to Madame de Simiane again; he was more cheerful; he was staying with Madame de Louvois in her house at Choisy, a truly delicious abode; but Madame de Simiane must not imagine that he did not pass many moments, in spite of all the company, in sad remembrance of his friend. A few weeks more, and he was dancing; the young people danced, and why should not he, who was as young as the youngest? All the Bouillons were in the house. The juggling vision grows fainter; but a few years later one sees him at the height of his felicity, having been provided by one of his kind friends with a room in the Palace at Versailles. More years pass, he is very old, he is very poor, but what does it matter!—

"Je connais de plus en plus  
En faisant très-grande chère,  
Qu'un estomac qui digère  
Vaut plus de cent mille écus."

On his seventy-sixth birthday he sings and dances, and looks forward to being a hundred without any difficulty at all. Then he eats and drinks, and sings and dances again. And so he disappears.

But Madame de Coulanges, ever sadder and more solitary, stayed in her room, thinking, hour after hour, over the fire. The world was nothing to her; success and happiness nothing; heaven itself nothing. She pulled her long fur-trimmed taffeta gown more closely round her, and pushed about the embers, wondering, for the thousandth time, whether it was really possible that Madame de Sévigné was dead.

#### THE LIVY HOAX.

BY T. R. GLOVER.

**E**VERY scholar who has had an atom of romance in him must have dreamed of finding the lost manuscript of some great author—a scroll of pure Simonides, a play of Euripides, a "complete works" of Sappho. But alas! one does not know where to look for them. The Oxford undergraduate, it is true, found a dozen or so of unknown lines of Juvenal in a manuscript in the Bodleian. It was by accident, it would seem, as one finds the autograph of a great man somewhere in an otherwise rather negligible folio—

Sir Thomas More in the pages of Simon Grynaeus,  
*ex dono authoris.*

The news of the finding of Livy seemed at first too wonderful to be true. Of Livy's one hundred and forty-two books we had thirty-five, and summaries of all but two of the rest. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt found papyrus fragments of another summary at Oxyrhynchus. Bruns, in 1772, found a bit of book xci. But everybody would have agreed a month ago that the recovery of the whole of Livy was a theme for a novelist. Then came Mr. Hamilton Smith's communication to the "Times," and the story that Dr. Mario di Martino-Fusco had found a complete manuscript of Livy in uncials.

Was it a romance? people wondered. In other words, was it a sheer lie—like the Humbert bonds in the empty safe? For a forgery was inconceivable. Sixty or seventy years ago Simonides, not the poet, claimed to have forged the Codex Sinaiticus of the Gospels. It involved some 340 sheets of parchment made of gazelle skin; and the gazelle will not give you more than two sheets. Livy, on the same scale, would keep Nimrod busy. Waive that, however. A generation ago an ingenious person started the theory that Poggio da Bracciolini forged the "Annals" of Tacitus. We are all indebted to Poggio if he did. But such theories break down on unimportant details. Tacitus and Livy give you plenty of famous names, but very many more names of nobodies. A clever novelist can write you a good classical tale like "Andivius Hedulio"; he knows quite well he must stick to the facts where the big names are concerned, he must have life and movement, and everybody will forgive him for inventing the minor people. Nobody would allow this to a historian. Poggio guessed with divine omniscience almost, for epigraphy has revealed in the centuries that followed the names of a number of the minor characters in the "Annals." The forger of Livy has to know Polybius, Plutarch, Appian, Valerius Maximus, all sorts of people extraordinarily well, and a lot more that is yet unknown. And, when writing material and knowledge are secured—Livy is Livy.

A forgery on a big scale, quite apart from gazelles and monuments, is an impossible feat to-day. Try these lines on your friends and they will tell you that one at least of them is Horace:

Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.  
Est bene cui bona sit, melius cui nulla sit uxor.

Try to forge a whole ode of Horace—a single set of five Alcaic stanzas—and see whom you can take in. Never mind about the parchment or the papyrus; try the Latin and the metre. A line may pass—but an epic? And, in this case, a whole library? A novel of Scott's was once forged in German and called "Walladmor," at a time when Scott had a vogue in Germany. France produced at least two more, one of which broke down on a prophetess called MacMaggy, while the better one, called "Moredun," is said to have had "the Scott atmosphere" and to have been written in the handwriting of Sir Walter. But alas! a reference to "the improving hand of Granger" involved Scott in a prophetic reference which gave all away. And while we speak of Scott, the "Letters to Richard Heber, Esq., M.P., containing Critical Remarks on the Series of Novels beginning with 'Waverley,' and an attempt to ascertain their Author," may be recalled, as a minor triumph of Higher Criticism; for young Mr. Adolphus, on internal grounds, convicted the poet of "Marmion" of the authorship of the novels. Livy to experts is as individual as Walter Scott.

One thing, however, was a little disconcerting. The papers told us that, with the Livy, the Italian scholar found a life of St. Januarius, which was very likely, and a life of Christ "dated 58 A.D.," which was very odd. Last autumn I was asked in California for an opinion on a book purporting to give veracious and independent evidence for the life of Christ, entitled "The Archko Volume." Dr. James, in his "Apocryphal New Testament," calls it "a ridiculous and disgusting American volume"; and I would not quarrel with him. A Russian traveller, Nicolas Notovich, announced, in 1887, the discovery of a very original life of Christ in a monastery in Tibet, which is not where one would have looked for it: and the book, he said, revealed that Jesus, between the visit to the temple and his baptism by John, wandered to the Orient and studied under Jains and Buddhists. Max Müller thought the old Abbot in Ladak told Notovich the story to quiet him. Professor Douglas, of Agra, went to the library in 1896 and saw the Abbot, and learnt there never had been such a manuscript. So one hesitated. It would be delightful indeed to think that the famous Q had been found, though the Scottish professor's experience with billiard-playing students gives us pause; his class misconstrued his question whether Luke and Matthew used the same Q. Possibly the new "Life" was a harmony of the Gospels—in which case it belonged to a later date than 58 A.D., though, even so, it might be of value. Conceivably, it was one or other of the apocryphal gospels—an "Acts of Pilate" perhaps, or some other ancient fake. In that case, if the discoverer and his friends were responsible for the date 58 A.D., one was less easy about the Livy and its transcription. If a newspaper correspondent had hatched that date, all might yet be well.

The importance of Livy to students of Roman history is inestimable. I have to own that I once vexed Professor Conway by the suggestion that the close student of Herodotus and Thucydides would hardly give Livy the highest rank as a historian. I confess also to a wish that the find had been a complete Polybius. But when I turned to the "Epitomae" of Livy, and read "Sulla" as the opening word of the summaries of five or six books; when I found Pompeius, Catilina, Caesar heading others; when I thought what those books must contain, and recalled that Augustus laughingly called Livy a Pompeian—how splendid it all seemed! And now it appears that the man and his friends merely lied, and that the Livy was only an unusually large sea-serpent! One can but hope that the Mussolini Government can make the punishment fit the crime and lock the wretch up till he writes one hundred books of Livy in Latin out of his own head.

## FROM ALPHA TO OMEGA

"**T**HE Devil's Disciple" is an extremely good play, in some ways, I think, the best play Mr. Shaw has ever written, and a pilgrimage to see its revival at Hampstead is worth anybody's while. In hardly any of his other works has Mr. Shaw put such a stern check on his tendency towards the irrelevant, with the result that the action is never for an instant held up. Further, "The Devil's Disciple" never appears to be "about anything" except the characters in the comedy, with the result that it never "dates." Also, with sufficient space it would be easy to illustrate the excellence of the dialogue. The tiny stage at the Everyman Theatre is not very suitable for such a play as this, which was evidently conceived for a large stage, with plenty of

room for crowds, soldiers, &c. The last scene especially suffers from the narrowness of space. Still, the Everyman Company played with great spirit and easily succeeded in communicating to the audience the high spirits of the author. I particularly liked the "natural" Christie of Mr. Harold Scott.

"The Thief of Bagdad," the American super-film now being exhibited at Drury Lane, shows an encouraging tendency away from the dreary realism which till lately has been the sole aim and idea of American producers. Influenced by some of the big German films that have been seen recently—particularly, in some places, by the "Nibelungs"—its producer has not been afraid of the fantastic and the improbable. The magnificent and costly spectacles are used to some purpose in the story, instead of being, as so often, mere irrelevant padding, and ingenious trick-photography is introduced with excellent effect. There are a truly magical flying carpet, a miraculous rope, a winged horse (this is not quite so successful; a rather tame, domesticated creature), and many weird monsters and strange fantastic landscapes. It is altogether a very entertaining film, with no dull moments. Mr. Douglas Fairbanks does not seem, perhaps, always quite at home amid so many Oriental splendours, but he is as indefatigable as ever, and affords ample and various opportunity of excitement to his admirers.

"Charlot's Revue," at the Prince of Wales's theatre, might be better named "Maisie Gay at Home." I do not forget Miss Phyllis Monkman's exquisitely twinkling legs in the most transparent of black silk stockings. They were the dessert of a meal which was long but disappointing. Fortunately, champagne was served with almost every course: I mean Miss Maisie Gay's sparkling, inexhaustible good spirits. She surpassed herself in numerous disguises: as a charwoman, as a Dutchman, as "Cleo, Queen of the Vamps," as herself (refusing to let us think that the revue was far below the standard of "A to Z" and "London Calling"), and, best of all, as "Miss Fancy Robinson," a drawing-room singer: in this she reduced one to hysterics, now trying over a simple ballad, now clasping a Teddy Bear and gurgling "Children are so childish," now taking off Miss Nora Bayes, now bashful and blushing, and hopping like a high hill at the one diminutive bouquet and rounds of imaginary applause. No one should miss this scene. For the rest, much of it is tedious as a twice-told tale—and Miss Gertrude Lawrence is still in America.

In the discussion which has been sporadically proceeding in these columns on the publishing and price of books, one point continually recurs. Almost any book can be produced very cheaply if only you can get enough people to read it. The crux of a healthy book trade is therefore to have a widespread habit of reading. Now it seems to be agreed that while the British have contracted the habit of reading novels in large quantities, they have not, as other people have, contracted the habit of reading more or less "serious" books. Those large Public Libraries which publish statistics of the different classes of books issued by them throw interesting light upon this question. I find that the issues of books from the Westminster Public Libraries were 687,000 last year: 37.89 per cent. of the books issued were fiction, 7.74 per cent. "miscellaneous" and magazines, and 12.35 per cent. children's books. Serious books therefore accounted for 42 per cent. of the books issued. But these figures, which include the Reference Library, greatly exaggerate the number of serious books read. If you take the Lending Library alone, you find that only 28 per cent. of the books issued were serious; 222,696 novels were issued, but only 5,856 scientific books. The most popular class of book after novels is "history, biography, travel, &c.," with 43,665 issues; then come "general literature" with 23,865, and "fine arts" with 16,041. The most unpopular subject is philosophy, with only 2,042 issues, but religion runs it pretty close with 2,392.

The fat volume containing the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society is always an extremely interesting document. This must be one of the most successful societies that has ever existed. Its object is to distribute the Holy Scriptures, and in the last year of its operations it succeeded in distributing no fewer than 8,540,901 copies of the Bible or portions of the Bible. Its revenue was £377,285, and its expenditure £353,739; so that it costs the Society about ten pence to distribute a copy of the Holy Scriptures. The figures of circulation in some countries are amazing. The three great Bible Societies between them last year issued over seven million copies in Chinese to the inhabitants of China. The policy of the Bible Society is not to distribute the Scriptures free, as a rule, though its prices are moderate; in Korea five Gospels are exchanged for five potatoes, while in India an egg is the price of a Gospel. It is interesting to notice that the total issues for the year showed a decline, partly because Russia, which before the war used to take half a million copies annually, now closes its frontiers to the distributors of the Bible. In the light of the colossal figures of circulation given in this Report, one is the more surprised that the printing of the Bible should in this country be still reserved by law as a monopoly to the two great University Presses and the King's Printer.

D. G. writes: "I heard an old lady say, quite seriously, after a visit to Wembley: 'If it wasn't so interesting, one wouldn't be able to bear it.'"

#### Things to see or hear in the coming week:—

- Saturday, October 4.—Mark Hambourg, Pianoforte Recital, at 3, at Central Hall.  
 Sunday, October 5.—"The Return Half," at R.A.D.A. Theatre.  
 Monday, October 6.—Rachmaninoff, Pianoforte Recital, at 3, at Queen's Hall.  
 Tuesday, October 7.—Albert Fransella and Léon Goossens, Flute and Oboe Recital, at 8.15, at Wigmore Hall.  
 Bertram Ayrton, Vocal Recital, at 8.30, at Aeolian Hall.  
 Wednesday, October 8.—Joan Muirella, Song Recital, at 8.15, at Wigmore Hall.  
 Thursday, October 9.—Prince D. Mirsky, first of series of nine lectures on "The Russian Novel from Turgenev to Chekhov," at 5.30, at King's College.  
 Friday, October 10.—Irene Scharrer, Pianoforte Recital, at 8.15, at Wigmore Hall.

#### OMICRON.

## POETRY

### THE OLD WOMAN LOOKS IN THE GLASS.

I've a-got a stocking,  
 I've a-got a treasure,  
 I've a-got a house that should not belong to me,  
 I've a-got a secret,  
 Forty years I hid it  
 In the night, in the storm, by the black unlighted sea.

Oh my precious secret,  
 Lips may never shape it,  
 Ears must be deaf to what was done by me!  
 But now comes a witness,  
 A sly and artful witness,  
 And lays my secret naked for all the world to see.

I've a-got a dressing table,  
 I've a-got a looking-glass,  
 Frilled up in muslin, pretty as can be—  
 But an old bitter weed I am,  
 Oh the Lord he knows that,  
 And now he's took and wrote it on my face, for all to see.

RUTH MANNING-SANDERS.

## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

## POETRY AND DREAMS.

LET  $x$  be any argument which you are using against someone with whom you disagree; let  $y$  be the amount of heat with which you express the argument; and let  $z$  equal the amount of truth in your argument. Then  $x+y=-z$ ;  $x+2y=-2z$ ;  $x-y=z$ ;  $x-2y=2z$ ; and so on. In other words, the amount of truth in your argument (or perhaps I should have said reason) will vary in inverse ratio to the amount of heat in it. As I am not a mathematician, I daresay that my mathematics are all wrong, but the conclusion is sound, and I hope that my readers will remember it if they begin to feel angry at anything which I may write this week. For I am going to write about a subject which seems to infuriate people even more than the Russian Treaty—psycho-analysis, or, as some people call it, the new psychology. I do not accept everything which Professor Freud and the psycho-analysts tell us, but really the heat which psycho-analysis generates in the arguments of those who disagree with it is a very strong argument in its favour.

\* \* \*

I have just read an interesting book, "The Meaning of Dreams," by Robert Graves (Palmer, 6s.). Mr. Graves appears at one time to have been a complete believer in Professor Freud and psycho-analysis. He is now in a position in which he accepts some, and rejects others, of the more important psycho-analytical theories. In his present book he attempts a reconciliation or compromise between the old and the new psychology in the interpretation of dreams. If I understand him correctly, he holds that some, but not all, dreams are the result of mental conflict; that the dream mind usually takes that side in the conflict which is getting the worst of it in the waking mind; that the Freudian theory of symbolization in dreams is largely true, but that the interpretation of the symbols and dreams and the bringing of a suppressed conflict to the surface of the mind do not resolve the conflict or effect a permanent "cure." The first seven chapters of Mr. Graves's book, in which he examines the Freudian theories and states his own, are interesting, fair, and sane, but I feel that he has not gone very deep into his subject and that his treatment of it is a little elementary. It is, however, in his eighth and last chapter, "Dreams and Poetry," that Mr. Graves has something original to contribute, and something which is likely to make a good many people very angry. I have already tried his theory upon an eminent and intelligent writer, and it roused a satisfactory amount of heat.

\* \* \*

Mr. Graves agrees with the late Dr. Rivers in holding that the state known as "inspiration" much resembles the dream state. He further makes a distinction between romantic, illogical, or fantastic poetry and logical poetry. Where the poet can give a logical explanation of the poem or uses symbolism with an explicit knowledge of its interpretation, he calls the poetry "classical," and holds that "it rises out of a state of mind corresponding with light sleep." To explain its genesis or interpret its meaning requires no Freudian or psycho-analytic theory. But where the poetry is "fantastic" or romantic, where the poet could give no logical explanation of its meaning, it corresponds with dreams of deep sleep, its symbolization corresponds with that of dreams, and psycho-analysis can help us in the interpretation. Mr. Graves has the courage of his convictions. He takes three poems, "La Belle Dame

sans Merci," "Kubla Khan," and a poem of his own, and proceeds in considerable detail to interpret them for us. Many people will disagree violently with him, but he cannot be merely brushed aside. He is a poet himself, as those who have read his books know, and as the poem here quoted by him shows. If you dismiss his interpretation of Keats and Coleridge, you still have to account for that of his own poem. He assures us that, when he wrote it, he was not conscious of what it symbolized, and that it is only now, when the mental conflict which it symbolized has died down, that he understands its meaning.

\* \* \*

Those who wish to understand fully Mr. Graves's interpretation of the three poems must read his book. In "La Belle Dame" he finds symbolization of Keats's love for Fanny Brawne and his fear of it, of his brother Tom's death from consumption, of fear of his own death from the same disease, and possibly of the temporary failure of his poetic inspiration. In "Kubla Khan" he finds symbolization of Coleridge's relations with his wife and Dorothy Wordsworth, and of the "conflict that arose between Coleridge and his friends and admirers, Lloyd, Lamb, and Hazlitt," over Coleridge's habit of taking opium. Mr. Graves's own poem, "The Gnat," is about a shepherd, called Watkin, who had in his head something like the gnat which "once crept unseen in at Duke Titus' ear." The man kills his dog, and, as he does so, the gnat flies out of his head and his madness leaves him. The poem is a good poem; it is "fantastic," but its surface meaning is as clear and simple as is that of "La Belle Dame" or of "Kubla Khan." The story about the shepherd is a true one. According to Mr. Graves, when he wrote the poem he was only conscious of "an immense sympathy with the shepherd," and therefore only of the surface meaning. But he was at the time "in a most agonized condition of mind," and he is now clear that the poem also symbolizes the mental conflicts which were agitating him. He wrote the poem in 1921 when he was suffering from shell-shock, and was in terror that a new war was going to break out. He realized his own condition, and believed that he could be cured by psycho-analysis. But someone had told him that "the result of being cured was that if you happened to be a poet (as I prided myself on being), you could never write poetry again. . . . The conflict in my mind was, therefore, this: which is the more important, poetic ambition or a quiet mind?" Mr. Graves is convinced that the poem is symbolic, e.g., "to be rid of the gnat (shell-shock) means killing the sheep-dog (poetry)."

\* \* \*

Many people will merely be irritated by this kind of "interpretation." Only those who suffer from that *rigor mortis* which so often attacks the human mind after the age of twenty-five will dismiss it as mere quackery and nonsense. We know sufficient about the human mind to know that, even in the case of poets, thoughts do not arise in it by an act of God. There is absolutely no reason why the psychologist should not be able to give us a scientific explanation of how the word "fever-dew" occurred to Keats and why "Kubla heard from far Ancestral voices prophesying war." Personally, I welcome the attempt to do so, if it is honest and reasonable, even if I do not completely accept the explanation,

LEONARD WOOLF.

## REVIEWS

## "VICTORY."

**La Victoire.** By ALFRED FABRE-LUCE. *Les Documents bleus*, No. 11. (Paris : "La Nouvelle Revue.")

UNDER this title appears one of the most encouraging and significant books produced since the end of the war in France. The "victory" intended in the superscription is that of 1918; but the victory really celebrated is that of the better over the worse French spirit. For in France, as in England, there have always been two currents—one of peace, the other of war; one of intelligence, the other of obscurantism; one of justice, the other of domination. In this book we welcome the emergence of the spirit of Voltaire, of Turgot, of Victor Hugo, of Anatole France; to that spirit all that is democratic and humane in England will always do the homage of a disciple to a master.

For those few who have studied the real causes of the great war, M. Fabre-Luce's book offers, on that subject, nothing that is new, though it offers everything of importance that is true. In France, as distinguished from England and Germany, most of the literature about origins is mere pamphleteering, supported, at best, by documents carefully selected to confirm the thesis of French innocence and German guilt. This is true of the writings of Poincaré, of Tardieu, even of Bourgeois and Pagès. But M. Fabre-Luce has managed to rise "above the battle" into that atmosphere where alone the truth can breathe; and once a man has done that, he can learn and say, even now, all that is essential. For though new publications may throw much light on this or that man or episode, nothing is likely to alter the main pattern of events, as it now appears to all candid students. The difficulty has been, everywhere, but particularly in France, to have the honesty and the courage to tell the truth. "They would have killed me if I had told it," said one of the French negotiators of the peace to the author of this book. But the latter has taken his courage in both hands. Presumably he will be abused by his countrymen; but he is sure of the gratitude and respect of men of goodwill in all countries.

The real cause of the war was the imperialism which had come to dominate all the great Powers, and the alliances in which they had grouped themselves, ostensibly for defence, really for offence, so soon as that should seem to be safe and profitable. It is the fashion, in some schools of thought, to attribute to this imperialism motives mainly economic. But to student of the pre-war history these, though no doubt present, appear to be subordinate. The war seems to have come from the simpler, broader, and less intelligent impulses: fear in the case of all States; nationalism in the case of the Balkans; revenge and recovery in the case of France; self-preservation in the case of Austria; the extension and consolidation of the empire in the case of Britain; security in the Mediterranean in the case of Italy. The strictly commercial motive was probably most marked in Germany during the later years, and was at the bottom of the enterprise of the Bagdad railway; but the opposition of the British and the Russians to that splendid achievement was mainly strategic, not economic. Governments and peoples are, in fact, less intelligent, and therefore more dangerous, than they would be if they consulted solely their economic interests; for a really enlightened selfishness would lead them to peace, whereas their passions lead them to war. There is much truth in the suggestive remark of M. Fabre-Luce: "Sentiments have often created or aggravated conflicts of interest rather than been engendered by them." Thus, the movement for Tariff Reform in England derives its strength much more from a sentimental desire to trade only within the Empire than from a grounded belief that such a course would be economically profitable.

But whatever may be thought about the motives that lay behind imperialism, there is no doubt that this, with the alliances it fostered, was the cause of the war. The situation resulting is well put in the following passage:—

"France, desiring to form a league of defence against Germany, had brought together a syndicate of conquerors. The interdependence of the secret covenants was such that the least displacement of equilibrium in the Mediterranean

was bound to produce incalculable effects. The aim of the treaties was to guarantee, in all cases, the equality of the contracting Powers. To maintain this, if one of the signatories should violate the *status quo*, the others must make a corresponding advance. This constitutes what may be called an obligation to conquest; and it was thus, in fact, that events developed. In 1911 the occupation of Fez released the Italo-Turkish war. That, in turn, created conditions favourable to the offensive of the Balkan allies, and precipitated their decision. Finally, the dismemberment of Turkey, resulting from their victory, caused Russia to decide, for a near future, to resume her march upon Constantinople. But one can see beforehand that this general movement will only be accomplished to the detriment of the other great Powers, and that, by successive shocks, the first conquest will propagate its impulse until it reaches Germany at Constantinople and Austria in the Balkans."

That this was the general position, by 1911, no historian will deny. It is not possible, in the space at our disposal, nor is it necessary, to follow out our author's analysis of the policies of the various States. But one or two points which he makes deserve special attention. One is the view taken by the French of the obligations laid upon England by the secret military conversations: "A comparison of the successive plans of the French General Staff allows us to determine the exact moment at which the English assistance they promised us entered into our military calculations. Plan 15 did not allow for it. Plan 16bis, worked out in September, 1911, takes account of the presence, on our left wing, of a British army. Messimy gives the explanation to the Commission of Inquiry into Briey. 'Our conversations with General Wilson, representing the British General Staff, at the moment of the Agadir crisis, made us certain of British intervention in case of war.'" This seems to indicate that soldiers may anticipate the decisions of Governments. On the other hand, Governments may influence Governments by overstating military commitments. For in the same report, when it has been shown how Dubail had emphasized to the Tsar the "serious importance of British support on our left wing," M. Barthe remarked: "It would have been too frivolous to make such a promise without having a real guarantee." Whereupon Messimy: "These are the kind of arguments one has the right to use, from the diplomatic point of view." These two extracts give one a considerable curiosity to read the whole report.

Another remark concerns the Balkans. When the match was dropped in that powder-barrel, the problem for the Powers, says M. Fabre-Luce, was whether they would permit themselves to be "drawn into war by those semi-barbarous nations, throw away, for their sakes, their own superiorities, and fall back into their condition of nationalism and poverty." "The history of our time," he then adds, "is the history of that abdication." And that is the truth. Nothing, perhaps, could have prevented war in the Balkans. But that a scrap between those savage little States should involve the whole continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, is the crowning disgrace of our civilization.

Lastly, an illuminating observation may be cited about Alsace-Lorraine. "The annexed provinces were like a distorting mirror at the frontier, through which it was impossible to see the true face of the adversary. It was this prism that made possible the tragic contradiction of 1914. France and Germany loved peace, yet made war. But that war was only possible on account of misunderstandings common to both sides." The Germans took back, in 1871, what the French had stolen from Germany. The French could not forget or forgive that counter-theft. And for that there must perish men, of all nations and all continents, in numbers exceeding several times the whole population of the provinces. No better example could be adduced of the romanticism that destroys civilization and mankind.

Having attained to a sane view of the pre-war history, M. Fabre-Luce takes, of course, a sane view of the peace. He sees and states the folly of exacting by *force majeure* a confession of sole guilt from a defeated foe. He sees that it is "Utopian" to "give to a treaty which requires for its execution not only annexations and immediate appropriations, but the free labour of individuals, a basis which the conscience of those individuals rejects." "To mix with the treaty moral ideas, elaborated unilaterally and capable of exploitation for imperialistic purposes, is not to increase its force, it is only to obscure its morality." The Germans,

falsely accused, as they believe, and as M. Fabre-Luce believes with them, have had no sincere desire to execute the treaty. In addition, the sums demanded of them have been merely fantastic; how fantastic, in our author's opinion, may be judged from his statement that "for honest minds" "there has never been any question of an indemnity of more than thirty to fifty milliards of francs." The amount at present fixed stands at 132 milliards of gold marks, and even that is a reduction of something like half from the original claim.

Our author's policy for the future is the Dawes Report and the League of Nations. Unlike many French supporters of the League, he would not back it by an international force. He approves of the draft of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, but only as a measure of transition; and looks forward to a League resting only on moral force, to which the United States may become a partner. Such a League, he concludes, is not a "beautiful dream," but a "necessary evolution"; and on this note he closes a book worthy of the best traditions of France. Of those traditions M. Herriot, too, appears to be a disciple. May he triumph, not too late, over the France of Louis XIV., of Napoleon, and of M. Poincaré!

G. LOWES DICKINSON.

#### AMERICA SURVEYS THE WORLD.

**The New World: Problems in Political Geography.** By ISAIAH BOWMAN, Ph.D., Director of the American Geographical Society of New York. Revised and Enlarged Edition. (Harrap, 21s.)

For nearly a century and a half, since the scene of European rivalries shifted from the American continent to other regions, the people of the United States have been cultivating their garden, and they have found the occupation so absorbing that all this time they have scarcely lifted their eyes to look beyond their own boundaries. The boundaries themselves have been, until lately, remote almost beyond the range of vision, and the domain enclosed has been not only vast, but overwhelmingly romantic. Unexampled material wealth lay waiting to be won from an untamed and titanic Earth-Mother, and as the colonists of the eastern seaboard burst the narrow bounds of the first settlements and streamed across the continent, they entered into a relation—half combat and half adoration—with the virgin goddess of the soil, which monopolized the foreground of their consciousness and induced that state of ecstatic oblivion to outward things which may often be observed in the votaries of newly revealed religions.

The present reviewer, who happened to be studying the American Press at the moment when Japan presented her notorious twenty-one demands to China in 1915, remembers vividly the surprise with which he noted the "reactions" of the Californian and the Eastern papers to the news. Here was an event which threatened to upset the whole balance of economic, political, and naval forces in the Pacific by placing the huge resources of China at the disposal of an aggressive first-class Power. How would this strike the Californians—already agitated at the intrusion into their earthly paradise of a few thousand Chinese and Japanese immigrants? And then it appeared—at least, if their newspapers were a guide—that it was making no impression upon them at all. To find leading articles containing a serious discussion of the Far Eastern issue, a foreign observer had to recross the continent and pick up the journals from Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, for in the newspapers published in California every article, every headline, every cartoon, was devoted during those critical days to a furious controversy over—the water-supply of San Francisco! For the moment, the puzzle seemed insoluble, but further experience showed that the relative interest of the East, and indifference of the Far West, of the United States to the relations between China and Japan were due to a profound difference in local conditions, which had more effect upon the local attitude towards foreign affairs in general than the bearing of a particular foreign event upon the interests of a particular part of the American Union. In the East—a fully settled country with comparatively stable conditions of life—the pioneer spirit had abated, and people already had the leisure and the need to look abroad, even as far as half-way across the world. In the West, they were still so intoxicated with the

internal development of their country that they were oblivious to dangers at its threshold. They could see, and resent, the individual Asiatic immigrant who actually trespassed upon their preserve, but they could not yet give their mind to the great Asiatic forces across the Pacific which might one day evict them from their garden altogether.

This local contrast in political psychology between different sections of the American people in 1915 was, at the same time, a contrast between past and future, for the World War coincided with and accentuated a transition in the outlook of the American people as a whole. The Western States were then on the point of reaching the position at which the Eastern States had arrived already. Even in the West, the empty lands were becoming filled, the latent agricultural and mineral resources were being exploited in increasing measure; in fact, the cornucopia was beginning to fail, the goddess of the land was losing the magical influence which had fascinated and engrossed the first invaders of her dominion, and the American people—Westerners and Easterners alike—were passing out of the abnormal state of mental "introversion" which had marked the pioneer period. Nor was it only their psychological environment which was changing. To say that their mental energies were being released for fresh fields of interest is another way of saying that the material development of their internal resources would soon be unable to satisfy their physical needs. Where would they be carried next by the national momentum which they had accumulated in pouring across a continent? And when their immense but temporary surplus of internal wealth had been used up, from what resources would they maintain that national standard of living which a century of prosperity had raised well above the level of Western Europe, and far above that of their new neighbours and competitors round the Asiatic shores of the Pacific? Before the World War was over, these questions had begun to exercise the minds of thoughtful Americans, and Mr. Bowman's book is an example of this new orientation. As such, it is of great interest—and that not only to the author's countrymen, but also to the rest of the world at which this American observer looks abroad.

Study, for example, his world-charts of the production of thirty mineral commodities (p. 9) and of oil (p. 60 of his appendix), and you will gain some idea of the present resources and future appetites of this gigantic community. What will happen when the American people as a whole, and not merely a few American students of world affairs, begin to realize that the fallow fertility of their garden has been exhausted, and that, if their energies are to find employment and their needs satisfaction in the future, they must break new ground? Will they use their great but transient preponderance of material resources in order to conquer fresh reserves by some formidable adventure in imperialism? Evidently at this moment they are in a vacillating state of mind. A long national tradition of inward concentration and aloofness from external affairs cannot be reversed in a day; but while the Administration at Washington has been withdrawing its troops at the first opportunities from Coblenz and Vladivostock, and Congress has been rejecting treaty-committments in Europe, American trade and finance have been extending their activities all over the world; and, where national wealth has been invested in certain quantities, it has hitherto been an almost automatic law of international relationships that political intervention should follow. In the Caribbean and the Pacific, indeed, where American investments have been particularly heavy, the political process has already begun, and Mr. Bowman prints a map and a table (pp. 560-1) which "reveal the surprising fact that the United States has extended its influence and control more rapidly since its annexation of Hawaii [in 1898] than any other Great Power, even imperialist Russia." He points out that this expansion has been the result of local events and not of a comprehensive plan of aggression, and that an imperialistic policy would be condemned in principle by American public opinion. But he is also aware that the actions rather than the motives of the United States in this respect have been taken to heart by the Latin Americans, and have evoked among them "a certain hostility, based on the assumption that their economic and political liberties were at stake," and that "the United States is therefore confronted with direct and powerful opposition for the first time since it embarked upon its policy of expansion over-

## MY LITERARY BIRTH

By the Right Hon.

T. P. O'CONNOR P.C.

I little knew what significance there was to me in the announcement made in the large and silent study hall in which I sat one afternoon more than forty years ago, that there was going to be a library for the benefit of schoolboys. When the library came it was a sufficiently small affair; not a hundred volumes in all. But among these volumes was CHAMBERS'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

I took up that book quite by accident. Up to that moment I had never read even a novel. I had once got a novel in my hands out of the dusty bookcase of ragged books which was in my own home, and was just in the midst of its enchanting visions when my father, who was an old-fashioned Puritan, took it away from me in the belief—then almost universal—that novel-reading was perilous to the young.

It is true that I had been already for some years engaged in what were humorously called classical studies—that is to say, I had been attempting to find a certain number of English words for a certain number of Latin or Greek words, with no comprehension, or even suspicion, that a civilization, great thoughts, a whole great reading world, lay behind the words.

A few moments after I had opened a volume of Chambers's this vision of a new world of thought and feeling—in other words, the world of literature—opened wide its golden gates to me. It was then that my education and, above all, that my love of reading really began; it is that moment which has fashioned my career. All I have done since in the shape of reading or writing, or inducing others to read and write, was thus started.

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seas." "Here," he continues, "we have a problem of the first rank. For the people of the United States are as unknown to themselves as they are to the rest of the world. They do not know how they will take interference with their policy of expansion, for in that expansion they have not had, so far, a single misadventure. While such an experience has left them in an amiable attitude towards others, and has given them a generous appreciation of the point of view of others, there is danger in that they do not know what fires of passion may be lighted by active opposition."

If this applies to the relations of the United States with the Latin-American countries, it must apply *a fortiori* to her foreign relations in the Far East, where she is confronted by a rival of her own calibre from whom she is divided in sympathy by a far deeper gulf of racial diversity. Even for Europe the prospect is disturbing—that is, if Europe remains a prize worth coveting in this new world which America is beginning to survey. During the European War it was an *idée fixe* of Baron Sonnino's that the United States would eventually put an end to the petty quarrels of the European States, as Rome ended the convulsions of the Ancient Greek republics. Mr. Bowman's warnings suggest that this nightmare of an Italian statesman was not so academic as it might appear.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

#### AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SAILOR.

**A History of the Indian Wars.** By CLEMENT DOWNING. Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.)

DOWNING's so-called "History" belongs to a small and rather interesting class of books: to the memoirs of the common soldiers and seamen who travelled over the world in the eighteenth century. Before that date our heroes were, for the most part, unable to write; while subsequent to it the pall of Elementary Education has descended, so that they are now unable to write for other reasons. The eighteenth century forms an agreeable interval between two illiteracies, during which the rank and file pipe up here and there with surprising spirit, and make remarks that would not have occurred to admirals. They are particularly readable when they visit the East. How fascinating are the "Sufferings" of James Bristow and James Scurry, two good-tempered sailors who were imprisoned and circumcised by Hyder Ali, and each wrote it all out afterwards! And how amazing (if we but knew them) must have been the adventures of Private Thomas Keith, who deserted during the Napoleonic wars, to become Governor of Medina!

Clement Downing served mainly as common seaman and petty officer in Indian waters. As a writer, he is not perhaps a very favourable example of his class. He lived at the century's beginning—a less interesting period than its close. The Mogul Empire has broken, the Mahratta Empire is a sprawling, squabbling nuisance, and the British Empire, heir to them both, has not yet appeared in force upon the scene. With Sivaji and Aurangzebe dead, and Clive unborn, Downing's main theme is a tedious local bicker between the island of Bombay and a certain Kanhoji Angria, who was a semi-independent Mahratta sea-captain. Even if he had met with great events or personalities, it is improbable that he would have made them interesting to his readers, for his style is colourless and his character prim. He writes some time after the events he describes, exaggerates the part he played in them and the positions he held, and duly conceals a certain vital little fact, which the erudition of Mr. William Foster has brought to light; namely, that at Surat, on November 27th, 1722, he deserted from the Royal Navy. This desertion accounts for the injured, yet discreet, tone that pervades his remarks; he hints that England has not recompensed him as she should, but he dare not be explicit, in case his past is looked up.

The memoirs are in three sections. The first deals with the Bombay wars, the second with an expedition to suppress piracy in Madagascar and elsewhere. The third section is the most interesting. It contains additional information about Madagascar and gives a curious account of local conditions in the island. Downing had seen much of pirates, for our navy, instead of exterminating them, fraternized;

and he describes the career of the most remarkable of them, John Plantain. It is a most Homeric story. Plantain, who styled himself King of Ranter-Bay, made war on a native monarch, King Dick by name, all for the love of King Dick's granddaughter, the Lady Eleonora Brown. Miss Brown could speak a little English, and repeat the Lord's Prayer. All Madagascar was convulsed, and in the end Dick and his confederate kings were slain, and Eleonora Brown became the victor's prize. She was, unfortunately, with child by someone else during the delay, but John Plantain loved her none the less, and on her account he dismissed his other wives, "whom he kept in subjection, and, after the English manner, called them Moll, Kate, Sue, or Pegg." Downing relates this epic in wooden fashion, now and then remarking that pirates are vicious, since his book will be printed in London. He also tells of the amorous King's mysterious renunciation: who, when all Madagascar lay under his feet, tired of royalty and set sail for India for service under Angria, taking with him none but a few picked comrades and Eleonora Brown.

The account of an Indian camp in Gujerat, which closes the book, is also worth looking at. Downing became an engineer in the Mogul service after his desertion, and he describes with gusto the distinction with which he was treated, and the splendour of his tent. As a rule, he tells us little about himself. We do not know where he was born, nor where he died, though it was probably at sea. His "History" was published in 1737, and has only now been reprinted. The volume under review is admirably edited by Mr. William Foster, the leading authority on the period. Its introduction and notes not only correct Downing's misstatements, but give much additional information, which will be invaluable to scholars.

E. M. F.

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with something typical, that is to say, rather than extraordinary or interesting, and he re-creates it from its beginnings to the point where it appears as an actual situation, the only point at which it becomes visible to the objective narrator. He describes the feelings of a married pair at their first spring sowing of potatoes, the trepidation of a young sea-gull taking its first flight, the atmosphere in an Irish crofter's house on the morning when a son and a daughter depart for America, and in all these scenes we feel the mind of an artist working with an astonishing capability. Several of the qualities of a great writer are shown in this volume: exact observation, a power of description equal to it, an imagination hardly ever at a loss, and, what is more rare than any of these, a secure grasp of the chief human passions. Mr. O'Flaherty has an immediate apprehension of everything natural. He can draw children, old men, and, a still surer proof of imaginative power, women of all kinds; he can divine the feelings of a cow which has lost its calf or of a cat which is stalking a bird; he can describe a storm, a gigantic wave which wrecks a cliff, the concrete yard of a workhouse. And he gives to everything he describes the complete weight of his attention; he seems incapable of writing unless the full power of his mind is focused upon the immediate object. These are great virtues. Whether Mr. O'Flaherty has the intellect as well as the creative power of a great writer this volume cannot tell us. Five out of the thirty-three stories are positively bad, several of the others are too short to suit the author's massive treatment, but at least half of them are both sure and original, and that probably implies the presence of an intellect neither commonplace nor unreliable. One is not surprised, after reading the volume, at "A. E.'s" prophecy that Mr. O'Flaherty's name may yet "be very great in Irish literature."

Miss Canfield has talent. She can relate a simple incident simply, always a more difficult feat than it seems. She secures her effects without straining for them. She never forgets to be sensible. She rarely forgets to be sympathetic. She is always good-humoured. But eventually all these merits begin to oppress one, because they are not enough. Miss Canfield gives one the impression of having hoarded her talents instead of exchanging them for the something else which alone counts in literature.

EDWIN MUIR.

#### CATHOLICISM AND THOMISM.

*The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.* By ÉTIENNE GILSON. (Cambridge: Heffer. 7s. 6d.)

THE revival of the Thomist philosophy in the Catholic Schools is of recent date. When Newman went to Rome in 1846, he found the scholastics out of fashion. There was no philosophy, he was told; "nothing but odds and ends, like St. Clement's *Stromata*": the climate was unpropitious to learning, even to orthodox learning; Pius IX. was occupied with other things. With Leo XIII., who was in the line of the greater Popes, another age opened. The Encyclical "Aeterni Patris" (1879) revolutionized the seminaries; no departure from St. Thomas was tolerated; the works of Kleutgen, Mercier, and the Louvain doctors signalized a new departure; there is now an energetic Thomist School. M. Gilson's "Thomisme" has gone through three French editions; and the fivefold censorship which this translation, edited by an English Dominican, has undergone is a sufficient testimony to its orthodoxy: we have here not only the sincere milk of the Angelic Doctor, but his purest cream. The book is clear, careful, and accurate. But it is naturally one of tendency; and, to the general reader, the interest of this philosophy is rather academic than actual. Its historical importance is, however, great; and an authorized exposition of the official philosophy of Catholicism is a boon to students: a certain knowledge of the two great Summas of St. Thomas is a condition of any reasonable estimate either of the past or the present of the Church. It should be remembered that we have an admirable English work on the subject in the late Bishop Hampden's once famous Bampton Lectures for 1832—"The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology"—so persistently denounced by what Arnold called "the party of Hophni and Phinehas" at the time.

The scholastic philosophy—the phrase is an inexact one, for there is more than one scholastic philosophy—has been unreasonably vilified by those who are ignorant of it, and unreasonably commended by those who are ignorant of any other. "Trifles occupied the sharp and vigorous intellects of the schoolmen" is Macaulay's slap-dash verdict; on the other hand, M. Gilson would persuade us that Thomism "presents the whole problem of philosophy with a fullness which had never been attained to before, and has never been reached since." This is rhetoric, not criticism. As a fact the physics of the schoolmen, which are built, not on observation, but on reasoning, retarded the progress of knowledge; and their metaphysics have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art of dialectics, the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize our ideas, and the syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. Hegel speaks of scholasticism as "modern science in embryo." It was universal in its field, and rational in its method; it has been not inaptly called the Modernism of the thirteenth century; and it was indeed condemned by Gregory IX. on similar grounds to those so vigorously embodied in the Encyclical "Pascendi" of Pius X. (1907). Here M. Guignebert's "Christianisme médiéval et moderne" may be consulted; but as early as at the Munich Congress of 1863 Döllinger's weighty and balanced judgment had been pronounced. Admitting the completeness and comprehensiveness of the schoolmen, and their advance in this respect on the early Fathers, their theology, he urged, must be regarded as a thing of the past. Their Aristotelian starting-point imposed limitations; analysis could not construct a system corresponding to the wealth and harmony of the actual; and without the elements of Biblical criticism and history of Dogma they possessed only one of the eyes of theology.

No systematic thinker stands higher than St. Thomas: but what was his strength in the thirteenth century has become his weakness in ours. It is because he expressed so admirably the mind of his generation that, with all his real greatness, he is out of touch with that of to-day. Not that he was inferior to modern thinkers—he was immeasurably their superior; but because he was a mediæval, not a modern man. Nature is larger than any formula; for us, the dialectic of which he was so consummate a master has broken down. The writer remembers an enthusiastic neo-Thomist who, with full certainty of success, brought the Saint's Five Proofs of the existence of God to bear on a person who was, or professed to be, an atheist. It is "of faith" that these proofs are demonstrative; but, as a fact, to his amazement, they were ineffectual. The Primus Motor, the Efficient Cause, and the rest remained *in vacuo*. There was a mistake somewhere; the atheist remained an atheist still. The greatness of St. Thomas is neither in demonstration nor in apologetic; but in the skill with which he combines beliefs, in themselves divergent, into a synthesis which gives the impression of being a coherent whole.

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British colonies was first discussed, Burke opposed the plan as being contrary to the laws of nature. To-day we see in England periodical conferences of delegates from the uttermost parts of the Empire, and with the further development of air transport it is possible that these conferences may be held annually. More than this, in the last chapter of his book Mr. Mills even suggests that they may be held without any one of the members having to move beyond his own study. Thus are they answered who claim the laws of nature to be immutable and inviolate.

An interesting fact appears in the discussion of the development of the means of communication. There is a tendency for the speed of the mails to surpass that of the fastest travelling passenger, for letters could be carried by air service from England to India at a continuous rate of 100 miles an hour, a pace impossible for ordinary travellers. Moreover, by the development of telegraphy, space has been annihilated and the result of the Derby can be known in Cape Town within two minutes of the finish. It is easy to see the effect of these changes on the political and economic life of the Empire. There is hardly a more potent force in encouraging the emigration of the most suitable men for the development of the colonies than the provision of cheap and rapid means of communication. This consideration is of importance also in the development of the imperial news service, and Mr. Saxon Mills points out how inadequately the colonies, particularly the West Indies and Canada, are served in this respect. The criticisms and recommendations of the Dominions Royal Commission, and of the Imperial Press Conferences, are repeated, and constant repetition may in time lead to remedy.

Professor Kirkaldy's book is the complement of Mr. Mills's, for it also deals with the growth of communication and transport, especially with the industrial and economic effects. Not least among these must be counted the stabilization of prices in the produce markets. Now that the world is bound together by a network of communications, and shipowners are kept in constant touch with their cargoes, it is possible to steady market prices by the evening-out of supplies, and this operation has a cumulative effect by stabilizing employment. It may be remarked, however, that there is also a disadvantage in this. If price fluctuations have thus become less severe, they have also become worldwide, so that the effect of irresponsible speculation in the American cotton markets is now felt almost simultaneously in Liverpool.

The development of transport and communication has increased the economic interdependence of nations, and thus it is conceivable, as Professor Kirkaldy suggests, that European reconstruction could be effected through the establishment of a stable standard of value throughout the Empire. The stabilization of prices in Great Britain might, indeed, do more to reduce the volume of unemployment than the other remedies suggested, such as the improvement of industrial conditions, the elimination of waste, and a wiser use of power resources. It is the mechanism of exchange that is at fault rather than the sources of production.

Professor Kirkaldy is above all most proud that he is a Briton. He thanks God for it in every chapter. The entry of the English into international trade introduced a new and saner commercial policy. The success of the English in trading and colonizing is due to their character and temperament, which differentiate them from their contemporaries. Pride in the English race is the keynote of the book.

The moral of both these books is that more is accomplished by peaceful methods of penetration than by warfare. The development of the means of transport and communication has had results more far-reaching than any political event. They have also had more effect in directing the course of trade than protective tariffs. And yet, as Mr. Saxon Mills points out, we hesitate to spend on these improvements sums which we cheerfully lavish on such a luxury as war.

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This first novel is a clever modern variation on old-fashioned romance, with the pleasant moral that the age of chivalry still lingers on despite other, and less pleasant, circumstances. Jan Lovatt, recently divorced by her husband for conduct more thoughtless than serious, retires, overcome by social coldness and malevolence, to a little country cottage, where she is taken in charge by Monica Stuart, presumably the authoress. Poor Jan, who is more pretty than sensible, and whose gravest fault is the use of the word "damn" on every page, being still in love with her husband, peaks, pines, and refuses to marry Felix, who had been named as one of the co-respondents. Felix, with admirable generosity, resolves to overcome the stupidity and suspicions of the former husband, who still loves Jan, but the reconciliation is brought about by the very old-fashioned device of a boating accident, and the lovers marry again. The consequences are excellent, but the causes preceding the story remain too vague. The modern seriousness of the book is amusing, for one feels that the divorcees behave like bold children and simply should have been smacked and put to bed without any supper.

\* \* \*

**The Man in the Brown Suit.** By AGATHA CHRISTIE. (Lane. 7s. 6d.)

This new mystery-tale will certainly convert a train, stopping at every station, into the limited mail. By witnessing an accident in a London Underground station and the disappearance of a man in brown, Anne Beddingfeld is swept into a series of circumstances that are familiar, yet not less suspensory, in their thrill, involving a voyage to South Africa, with plot and counter-plot in mid-ocean based on the stolen Kimberley diamonds and the activities of an international gang directed by a mysterious "Colonel," and not least, the efforts of a wronged man to clear his name. Although we have the honour of meeting the great crook, it says much for the experienced skill of the writer that few will more than suspect his identity. The plot comes to a climax during the recent Rand trouble, and it is hardly necessary to add that justice is meted out with discrimination to the conspirators, and that Anne, for her bravery and remarkable powers of detection, is rewarded with suitable romance.

\* \* \*

**Waste.** By ROBERT HERRICK. (Cape. 7s. 6d.)

The progression of the serious American novel has become familiar. The hero appears as a small boy in a dull, old-fashioned town, earns his way through College, loses his innocence, and makes good in New York; chapters bristling with details of business, of syndicates, stocks and shares, are alternated with chapters of romance, or, to be exact, sexual experiences. Mr. Herrick's novel is a fine variation on the theme. Jarvis Thornton, engineer, architect, being of an artistic temperament, attempts to reach "some basic integrity away from the false standards of the herd"; the quotation is its own comment. The story is an interesting criticism on the industrial development of America, from the period of the World's Fair at Chicago to the present day. Thornton, returning from the Great War, is disillusioned by what appears to him to be the hysterical patriotism of his country and the bloodthirsty sentiments of its women. Commercial dishonesty has destroyed his idealism, and, despite several intrigues with married and widowed women, his heart has found no peace. The reactionary study of wartime America is powerful and illuminating.

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

**The British Year-Book of International Law, 1924.** (Milford. 16s.)

The latest issue of this important year-book maintains the high standard set by its predecessors. It is at least as valuable to the student of current affairs as to the legal specialist. Professors J. L. Brierly and P. J. Baker discuss respectively "The Shortcomings of International Law" and "The Codification of International Law" in no narrow legalistic spirit. Professor Pearce Higgins writes on "The Monroe Doctrine," and Mr. P. E. Corbett on the legal status of the League of Nations. Among topics of current interest discussed in articles or notes are "The Legality of the Occupation of the Ruhr," "The Soviet Government

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and Russian Property in Foreign Countries," the Liquor Treaty with the United States, the replies of the special committee of lawyers on questions relating to the competence of the League of Nations, and the situation created by the disappearance of the Capitulations in Turkey. The judgments and advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the decisions of the German-American Mixed Claims Commission, are capably summarized; there is an excellent bibliography, and the British Institute of International Affairs again contributes a valuable summary of events.

\* \* \*

**Question-Time in Hyde Park.** By the Rev. CLEMENT F. ROGERS. (S.P.C.K. 6s.)

Mr. Rogers rather rashly, we think, calls his book "a complete manual of Christian Apologetics for the needs of the present day." It is scarcely as important as that, but it is both instructive and entertaining. Mr. Rogers has been speaking for some time on Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park for the Christian Evidence Society, and after the address he used to invite questions. He now publishes a large number of the questions, and his answers to them, grouping them under five heads, e.g.: "Free Will and Determinism," "The Bible and the Creeds." To each series of questions and answers he appends "illustrations" drawn from a wide range of books. The questions are often "puzzlers," e.g., "How do you prove that our wills are free?" but Mr. Rogers is always capable of answering them in ten or twelve lines.

\* \* \*

**The Wines of France.** By H. WARNER ALLEN. (Fisher Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

To the connoisseur of wine this book will be absorbing, but even one who is no wine-drinker will find it extremely interesting. The author is sometimes too prolix on what he calls the aesthetics of taste and smell, and on the sensations which great wine produces on the drinker. But the lover of facts will enjoy his immensely detailed account of the varieties of French wines, the methods of growing and making them, and their various qualities. On his own subject Mr. Allen's knowledge seems to be encyclopedic.

\* \* \*

**The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler.** Vol. V, Evolution Old and New. Vol. VI, Unconscious Memory. (Cape.)

This magnificent edition of Butler will be completed in twenty volumes. "Evolution Old and New" and "Unconscious Memory" are closely linked together, both in time and in subject. The former was first published in 1879, the latter in 1880. The two books are, of course, famous, *inter alia*, for the controversy between Darwin and Butler, and for Butler's remarkable onslaught upon Darwin over Dr. Krause's article in the fourth chapter of "Unconscious Memory."

\* \* \*

**The Works of Stevenson.** Tuszitala Edition. (Heinemann. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; leather, 4s. 6d. each vol.)

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## REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

"THERE is one thing that is stronger than armies, an idea whose time has come." Once again the desks have been arranged in the Salle de la Réformation, and for the fifth time the delegates to the League of Nations Assembly have congregated to testify to the more or less continued longing of their various Governments for the establishment of Peace. In its turn, each Assembly has been reported "of more than usual interest"; on this occasion the assistance of Mr. MacDonald, M. Herriot, and M. Theunis has provided the excuse for articles in the vein of Mr. Hugh Spender's "The Prime Ministers at Geneva" ("Fortnightly"). But on the whole, the transactions of the League obstinately refuse to be bent into good shape for superficial articles. On the other hand, nothing more inevitably arouses heated declarations of opinion. In the "English Review," under the heading "There shall be no War!" we read, "What is now beginning to be apparent to all who are capable of reason is that this Genevan League, formed to prevent war, threatens rapidly to become one of the greatest sources of future strife with which the human race has ever been cursed. The schemes emanating from it resemble the suggestions of an amateur debating

society rather than the considered plans of wise men. . . ." In the "Contemporary Review," Mr. Wilson Harris writes: "The spirit of practicality and resolve that has characterized the 1924 Assembly marks so sensible an advance on the by no means low standards of previous meetings that the future of the League—soon, it can hardly be doubted, to be enlarged by the accession of Germany—can be faced with well-founded confidence." "The Empire Review" deals severely with Lord Parmaor, and insists that the League as it stands is "almost a fraud," such to remain so long as Russia, the United States, and Germany "are none of them within the fairy ring." In the "Fortnightly," Dr. E. J. Dillon discusses the problem of Reparations under the title, "Is the League of Nations in Sight?" "The work accomplished at Geneva is in a way monumental, and deserves more credit than it has already received. And yet, scanned from a purely practical point of view, it is hardly more than a sketch roughly traced by the hand of an architect." It depends on the goodwill and capacity for self-sacrifice of the ordinary people of Europe whether it can become a reality. The Dawes Plan, he sums up, is an arrangement whereby the root fallacy that the Reparations Problem can be solved is laid bare. "The historic resolution taken at the Geneva meeting of the League is a praiseworthy beginning which will bring home . . . the rudimentary truth that the wielders of might and their victims cannot be expected to work efficaciously to uphold the sanctity and inviolability of the property acquired by the former. It is against human nature."

In addition to Mr. Harris's article, the "Contemporary Review" publishes a paper by Mr. Delisle Burns—"International Problems and Political Philosophy"—and the "Fortnightly" provides an interesting alternative to his conclusions with Mr. Godden's "Mussolini and Machiavelli." Captain C. E. Loseby, M.C., contributes a discussion on "French Policy and English Critics" to the "Nineteenth Century," and Mr. John Remer, M.P., has a note on the London Agreement in the same paper. "The Truth about East African Problems," by the Bishop of Zanzibar ("Empire"), contains some disconcerting observations on the aspirations of Kenya Colony. "Kenya needs many more labourers to place on its settlers' farms, and a great deal more money for railroads, without which the settlers cannot grow rich. Tanganyika can supply the labourers; Zanzibar has the money." Could anything, therefore, be simpler or more desirable than a Federation of the three States? "Candid settlers admit that the present system of taxation in Kenya does in fact force the African out of his reserves into their plantations, and that the interests of the natives and the settlers are not compatible. A case can, of course, be made out for the settlers' claims; but it is more honest to admit that it cannot be established without the complete subordination of the African." Mr. John Harris, in the "Contemporary Review," reinforces the Bishop's argument with an account of the ludicrously mild penalties awarded to settlers in the Kenya districts for acts of the most nauseating savagery against natives.

The most important things in this month's "Adelphi" are a "Defence of Countess Tolstoy" by Maxim Gorky, an article on the late H. W. Massingham by Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, and a comical but truthful picture of a South African native in "American-cut Trousers" by Miss Gertrude Millin. Mr. Salzman's "Medieval Beasts" in the "Cornhill" are as eccentric and entertaining as his "Medieval Birds" of a few months ago. Mr. F. V. Morley, in the same paper, with "Dora Wordsworth: Her Book," gives, perhaps unconsciously, a most depressing account of Wordsworth in his old, bad days. Captain A. R. Dunlop, in "Chambers's Magazine," contributes a story of British North Borneo. Miss Edith Sitwell has a "Poem—on an Autumn Evening spent in Reading Cowper" in the "Fortnightly."

The October number of "The Pilgrim" is devoted to a series of articles on the C.O.P.E.C. Reports. Of these the most striking is one by the editor, Bishop Temple, on "God and the State." This begins with the statement that a resolution which claimed divine authority for the State was censured at the Conference on the ground that it gave the State undue exaltation, and that the expression of this view evoked loud applause. The Bishop professes himself totally unable to understand either the criticism or the applause, yet neither he nor his contributor Dr. Gooch seems to care for Machiavelli.

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## FINANCE AND INVESTMENT

THE RUPEE—THE GERMAN LOAN.

**T**HE marked strength of the Indian rupee, which is now round about 1s. 5½d., possesses rather more significance than usually attaches to exchange movements. Since the astonishing comedy of 1920, when the proclamation formally establishing 2s. gold as the value of the rupee was followed immediately by a sensational collapse of the exchange to below the old parity of 1s. 4d. sterling, the rupee has been allowed to fluctuate within fairly narrow limits, completely divorced from its official value. Everyone has long realized, of course, that the idea of a 2s. gold rupee was out of the question; but it was a cardinal feature of the 1920 policy to link the rupee with gold rather than with sterling, and this much of the policy the Government of India are evidently anxious to retain. They have aimed, therefore, at the goal of 1s. 4d. gold, and lately have avowed this objective frankly, Sir Basil Blackett declaring last July that "our policy is to reach 1s. 4d. gold at the earliest possible moment." The significance of the recent rise in the rupee is that this figure has now been reached for the first time since the 1920 débâcle. The question therefore arises whether the Government of India will now attempt to reconstitute the Gold Exchange Standard system. Sir Basil Blackett lately urged the need for caution; and, after the experience of four years ago, the Government may well be chary about acting prematurely. The present is a favourable season for the Indian exchange, which touched 1s. 5½d. (though this did not then mean 1s. 4d. gold) in September, 1921. But the underlying position is far stronger to-day than it was then; the eagerness with which this week's offer of India Council Bills was taken up testifies to the strong demand for rupees that now exists; and it would not be surprising if the rupee were to maintain its present level long enough to make the question of a formal reversion to 1s. 4d. gold an issue which cannot be evaded.

This issue would provoke an interesting controversy in India, where there is school of thought which desires the introduction of a gold standard proper, and which deprecates any reversion to the Exchange Standard mechanism as likely to frustrate this aim. Two Indian economists, Professor Wadia and Professor Joshi, have recently issued a pamphlet, entitled "A Plea for an Effective Gold Standard in India," in which this point of view is set forth; and it may quite possibly receive considerable support, not because its economics are convincing, but because it may appeal to Indian pride. The re-establishment of the rupee on a gold basis would also provoke a controversy in this country. There is a widespread anxiety in City circles lest the position of London should be endangered by other countries reverting to gold, while we remain on inconvertible paper; and the linking up of the rupee to gold would be the signal for a renewed outbreak of deflationary propaganda. It may well be that, as in the 'eighties, the rupee will be responsible for releasing the springs of a first-class monetary controversy in Great Britain.

Mr. Keynes's article upon "The Dawes Scheme and the German Loan" calls attention to a point which provides an ironic commentary on the hopes and fears expressed by the Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Board when the Dawes Report was published. The Advisory Council, it will be remembered, looked to the German loan to relieve America of some of her surplus gold, and was alarmed lest any loophole should be left for placing the new German note-issue on a sterling basis. Mr. Keynes points out that the bulk of the loan must be left abroad by Germany in the form of foreign assets which are realizable in gold; and he suggests that it may, therefore, be necessary for Germany both to leave the American share of the loan in New York and to remit thither the British portion. Thus, so far from drawing gold from America, the effect of the loan, coupled with the gold provisos, may actually be to entail a transference of funds from London to New York.

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The fifth ordinary general meeting of the British Celanese, Limited, was held on Thursday, September 25th, at the Cannon Street Hotel. The chair was occupied by Sir Harry McGowan, K.B.E. (Chairman of Directors).

#### CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

When I last had the pleasure of addressing you, I was able to refer in encouraging terms to the progress then being made and to the general outlook. The period referred to was the first few months of the financial year under review. Shortly after my speech, however, several factors began to operate against this Company. We had not at that time established our position in the yarn trade, nor had we put our knitted or woven fabric on the market—in fact, we were very largely dependent on our sales of cord. Our factory costs were, on the smaller output, relatively high, and were affected by the changes and extensions we were making in our factory capacity. Shortly after the date of my speech, there was a general stagnation in the textile trades, during which the English markets were flooded with cheap and inferior cord from the Continent. This led to the cutting of prices, which, situated as we were, largely dependent on our cord product, was a serious matter. For the second half of the financial year therefore our entry into the profit-making stage was retarded by market conditions, and you may be sure that, with our growing potentialities for larger business, our disappointment at the delay in making that capacity effective was very great. Convinced as we were of the inherent qualities of our product, we knew that its superiority was bound to tell with the trade and the public in due course. But a period of depression and reluctance to buy is not favourable to a product proving its own superiority, and we were confronted with the necessity of making the merits of our materials known to the public and particularly of establishing our yarn trade with the fabric makers. As we firmly believed in the material ourselves, we had every confidence in the result of the propaganda we then embarked upon. In the year under review we spent £37,000 in advertising, which has been charged to revenue. The results have been satisfactory. Our sales of yarn, which we regard as our basic product, have steadily developed, so that for September of the present year they are five times what they were in September of the year under review. The expansion of our business has led to the lowering of costs, and the profits so far made in the present year are substantially greater than the total losses made in the year we are now considering.

I am glad to say that in completed productive capacity and actual output, in variety of product and ranges of uses, in reduction of costs, in actual sales and market demands and in financial position, substantial progress since we last met can be recorded.

May I take these aspects in order?

**Productive Capacity and Variety of Products.**—I told you last year that the extensions then being carried out would enable us to produce from 4½ to 8 tons of yarn per day according to denier. Low denier means a fine yarn which yields a higher price but which takes a longer time to make a given weight. Since that time we have carried out such improvements in our factory that we now have a capacity for 50 per cent. more of the low denier, which is the more profitable.

I referred above to yarn as our basic product. By that statement I meant that our chief business was to make and sell yarn to the fabric trade, but we long ago decided the best method of doing this was to demonstrate to the world the fine quality of the knitted and woven fabric made from it. With this purpose in view, we installed a circular knitted fabric plant which has now been running successfully for some months. The goods made are appreciated by the public, and the orders are now in excess of capacity. This plant is being increased by 50 per cent., and the machinery for this extension is being installed as rapidly as possible. We believe that the enhanced demand for our yarn is in a considerable measure due to the high appreciation in the trade of this circular knitted fabric which is known as Celanese Tricot.

With the same object of demonstration, we installed a woven fabric plant with a capacity of 1,000 to 2,000 lbs. per day according to the character of the fabric. About two-thirds of this plant is now running and the remainder will gradually be brought into commission. As soon as the finishing plant now being installed is at work, the plant will be pushed to its full capacity and this woven fabric will be offered to the trade. From the success of the small quantities we have had finished in outside factories, we are confident of the result of the woven fabric branch of our enterprise.

If you carry your minds back a year ago to the time when our chief product was knitting cord, you will begin

to realise that your enterprise has made vast strides in the interval. At the same time, a steady demand continues for our cord. A very interesting development in the use of our yarn is its combination with cotton and wool by independent fabric makers. "Celfect," consisting of twisted threads of cotton and Celanese, has already established a very important sale chiefly in the stocking trade.

**Factory Processes and Costs.**—We are glad to tell you that during the last few months our working costs have shown substantial improvement, due partly to increased output, but also to our workpeople becoming more familiar with the various processes, and to improvements suggested by experience. So far as one can see at the moment, it will be the end of the present year before the bulk of these improvements and alterations are completed, which, while they are being carried out, prevent the maximum capacity being reached. The difficulties formerly experienced in dyeing our material have largely disappeared. We have extended our dye-house, and produce 80 per cent. of our own dyes. Our dye-house is open to the trade, and we invite their experts to come and learn our methods. We do not wish to compete with the makers of dyestuffs, but, on the contrary, we encourage them to study our methods and produce their own dyes. These developments on our part have given us a good control of the dyeing question, and have largely removed the former dyeing difficulties. Our dyes are fast, and we have covered successfully all the shades.

**Sales.**—Our sales organisation was faced with all the difficulties incident to placing a new material on the market, but confidence, patience and courtesy have carried us a long way, and a vigorous advertising propaganda has made Celanese widely and favourably known. The cost of this publicity, which in itself exceeds the trading loss of the year under review, has been charged to revenue.

**Financial Position.**—You will have seen from the Balance Sheet that our outstanding debentures have increased from £300,000 at February, 1923, to £700,000 at February, 1924. As you know, the proceeds of these debentures have been expended in increasing our spinning capacity and in the installation of our knitted and woven fabric plants. We have reduced our loans from £85,000 at February, 1923, so that at the present time our only outstanding loan is one of £50,000 to H.M. Government, which is not due until December, 1925.

On the Assets side you will notice that cash is £78,000 as against £102,000, and it will be gratifying to you to know that the position to-day is better than either of these figures indicates, as we are financing a much larger turnover than was the case at the earlier periods, and have paid every account due and have no bills outstanding, so that the position is much stronger than in previous years.

**Outlook.**—In my last report I stated:—"Of our ability to make profits under reasonable trade conditions I have no doubt whatever, and all our statistical records bear out this opinion, shared as it is by the entire board." This opinion as to our ability to make substantial profits has been confirmed by the results of the past few months. We fully realise that the building up of a great business calls for our untiring effort, and that new conditions constantly arise to be faced and overcome in all business enterprises. We have every confidence that we will achieve it, and that this Company will soon take its place among the great enterprises of this country.

If the British consumer would confine himself to British proprietary articles of known quality, such as Celanese, Celfect, &c., we should have all the advantages in our costs of production which increased and steady volume of manufacture confers, and it would help us to reduce our costs to the benefit of the public and of our shareholders alike. The British consumer need have no hesitation in acting thus patriotically. In buying "Celanese" one gets an article which has all the charm of feel and softness which appertains to real silk, with the addition of certain advantages such as regularity and far higher insulating properties. It is not affected by extremes of climatic heat or cold, and all these qualities combine to make "Celanese" garments the most comfortable wear for all seasons, safeguarding the wearer as they do from discomforts in consequence of sudden chills or extreme heat. From the Manufacturers' point of view "Celanese" has very important advantages—it has a high elasticity factor, enabling it to be worked perfectly in textile machinery, and what is most important, it has absolute regularity of strength and uniformity.

We have not shown our fabrics here to-day, as we did last year, because we have a very good display of them at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Our Stand is to be found in the Palace of Industries by passing through the Nobel Industries Stand, out of which it leads, and I hope all Shareholders who have the opportunity will visit our display there.

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